THE

BEAUTIES

OF

ENGLISH PROSE.

245 b.20

THE

BEAUTIES

OF

ENGLISH PROSE:

BEING A

SELECT COLLECTION

OF

Moral, Critical, and Entertaining Paſſages,

Diſpoſed in the Manner of

ESSAYS;

And extracted from

ADDISON,	FRANKLYN,	PARNEL,
BLACKSTONE,	GOLDSMITH,	SEED,
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Alſo from the

SPECTATOR, TATLER, GUARDIAN, CONNOISSEUR, WORLD, ADVENTURER, RAMBLER, and IDLER.

The whole tending to cultivate the Mind, and promote the Practice of Virtue.

VOL. III.

——— This opens Wiſdom's ray,
And gives acceſs, tho' ſecret ſhe retire. MILTON.

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MDCCLXXII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE BEAUTIES OF ENGLISH PROSE.

BOOK XII.

CHAP. I.

MAN.

SECT. I.

Man dying makes an affecting but not a laſting impreſſion.

IT is a very terrible and amazing thing to ſee a man die, and ſolemnly take his laſt leave of the world. The very circumſtances of dying men are apt to ſtrike us with horror. To hear ſuch a man how ſenſibly he will ſpeak of the other world, as if he were juſt come from it, rather than going to it; how ſeverely he will condemn himſelf for the folly and wickedneſs of his life; with what paſſion he will wiſh that he had lived better, and had ſerved God more ſincerely; how ſeriouſly he

will reſolve upon a better life, if God would be pleaſed to raiſe him up, and try him but once more; with what zeal and earneſtneſs he will commend to his beſt friends and neareſt relations a religious and virtuous courſe of life, as the only thing that will miniſter comfort to them when they come to be in his condition. Such diſcourſes as theſe are very apt to move and affect men for the time, and to ſtir up in them very good reſolutions, whilſt the preſent fit and impreſſion laſts; but becauſe theſe ſights are very frequent, they have ſeldom any great permanent effect upon men. They conſider that it is a very common caſe, and ſinners take example and encouragement from one another; every one is affected for the preſent, few are ſo effectually convinced as to betake themſelves to a better courſe.

Tillotſon.

SECT. II.

Man of the world deſcribed.

THE men of the world are invincibly conſtant and pertinacious in the purſuit of earthly things; they are not to be bribed or taken off by favour or fair words; not to be daunted by difficulties, or daſhed out of countenance by the frowns or reproaches of men. Offer an ambitious man any thing ſhort of his end and aim, to take him off from the proſecution of it, he ſcorns the motion, and thinks you go about to fool him out of his intereſt. Bait a covetous man with temptations of pleaſure to get his money from him; how generouſly will this

this mean-ſpirited wretch trample upon pleaſure, when it would tempt him from his deſign of being rich?

Difficulties do not daunt them, but whet their courage, quicken their endeavours, and ſet a keen edge upon their ſpirits. Give an ambitious man almoſt a demonſtration of the impoſſibility of his attempts, *contra audentior ibit*, he will go on ſo much the more boldly and reſolutely. In the ways of religion men are apt to be diſcouraged and put out of countenance by contempt and reproach; but a covetous man is not to be jeered or flirted out of his money and eſtate; he can be content to be rich, and give leave to thoſe that are not ſo, to laugh at him.

Populus mihi ſibilat; at mihi plaudo.

The rich worldling can hug himſelf and his bags, when the world hiſſeth at him; he can bear to be hated, and perſecuted, and have all manner of evil ſpoke againſt him for money ſake: and in the purſuits of theſe deſigns men will, with great reſolution, encounter enmity and oppoſition, and endure great ſufferings and perſecution. How many have been martyrs to their luſts, and have ſacrificed their eaſe and health, and even their lives, in the proſecution of their ambitious, and covetous, and voluptuous deſigns?

But, on the other hand, how eaſily are men checked and diverted from a good courſe, by the temptations and advantages of this world? how many are cold in their zeal for religion, by the favour and friendſhip of this world? and as their goods and eſtates have grown greater,

their devotion hath grown leſs. How apt are they to be terrified at the apprehenſion of danger and ſufferings; and by their fearful imaginations to make them greater than they are, and with the people of Iſrael to be diſheartened from all farther attempts of entering into the land of promiſe, becauſe it is full of giants and the ſons of Anak? How eaſily was Peter frighted into the denial of his maſter? And when our Saviour was apprehended, how did his diſciples forſake him, and fly from him? and though they were conſtant afterwards to the death, yet it was a great while before they were perfectly armed and ſteeled againſt the fear of ſuffering.

The men of the world will make all things ſtoop and ſubmit to that which is their great end and deſign; their intereſt rules them and governs them, and gives law to all their actions; they will make an advantage of every thing, and if it will not ſerve their end one way or other, they will have nothing to do with it. If an ambitious man ſeeks wealth, it is only in order to his deſign to purchaſe friends, and ſtrengthen his intereſt, and to make his riſing the eaſier; he will lay his whole eſtate at the ſtake, rather than miſs of his end. The covetous man will quit pleaſure, when it lies croſs to his intereſt: if he has any expenſive luſt and chargeable vice, he will turn it off or exchange it for ſome more frugal and profitable ſin.

But in the affairs of religion, and the concernments of our ſouls, how frequently do men act without a due regard and conſideration of their great end? and inſtead of making other things ſubmit to it, they often bow and bend it

to

to their inferior intereſt. They make heaven ſtoop to earth, and religion to ſerve a worldly deſign; and the glory of God to give way to gain; and the great concernments of their ſouls, and their eternal ſalvation, to their temporal profit and advantage. The men of the world are generally true to their great end, and pay it that reſpect which is due to it, and will ſuffer nothing to take place of it in their eſteem and affection; and if men were as wiſe for their ſouls, and for another world, they would bring all things to their great end, and make all the concernments of this temporal life to yield and give way to the great concernments of their eternal happineſs. I proceed now,

To give ſome account of this, whence it comes to paſs, that the children of this world are wiſer in their generation than the children of light. And this I ſhall do by conſidering what advantages the children of this world have, as to affairs of this world, above what good men have, as to the concernments of another world. I ſhall inſtance a few of the chief.

The things of this world are preſent and ſenſible, and becauſe of their nearneſs to us, are apt to ſtrike powerfully upon our ſenſes, to affect us mightily, to excite our deſires after them, and to work ſtrongly upon our hopes and fears: but the things of another world being remote from us, are leſſened by their diſtance, and conſequently are not apt to work ſo powerfully upon our minds. They are inviſible to us, and only diſcerned by faith, which is a more obſcure and leſs certain perception of things than we have of thoſe objects which are preſented to our bodily

eyes. The things which God hath prepared for them that love him, the glory and happineſs of the next world, are things which eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard. The children of light do not ſee God, as the children of this world ſee Mammon.

2dly. The ſenſual delights and enjoyments of this world are better ſuited, and more agreeable to the corrupt and degenerate nature of men, than ſpiritual and heavenly things are to thoſe that are regenerate. In this lapſed and degenerate ſtate of mankind, appetite and ſenſe are apt to prevail above reaſon; and therefore thoſe things which are moſt delightful to ſenſe, we favour and mind, and love to buſy ourſelves about them, becauſe they are moſt ſuitable to the animal life, which is the governing principle of corrupt nature.

And the reaſon of this is plain, becauſe that principle in worldly and ſenſual men which purſues earthly things, is in thoſe who are unregenerate entire and undivided; and conſequently the affections and inclinations of the whole man do all tend one way, and run out towards thoſe things in a full and undivided ſtream; whereas good men are but regenerate in part, and though they have a principle of ſpiritual life in them, yet their affections are divided, and there is a great ſtruggling and conflict between fleſh and ſpirit, and it is a great while before the ſpiritual principle doth clearly prevail, and get a perfect victory over our ſenſual appetites and inclinations. Men's affections to the world are entire and unbroken, and therefore they purſue theſe things with all their might: but the beſt men are but good in part;

and

and that heavenly principle which is in them, is very much hindered in its operations by a contrary principle, our earthly and ſenſual inclinations, which are hardly ever perfectly ſubdued and brought under in this world. *Tillotſon*,

SECT. III.

Man proved, from a review of his life, to have been created by the Deity not to live for himſelf only.

IF we begin with man in his early age, wherein the ſtrongeſt marks of undiſguiſed tenderneſs and diſintereſted compaſſion ſhew themſelves,—I might previouſly obſerve, with what impreſſions he is come out of the hands of God,—with the very bias upon his nature, which prepares him for the character, which he was deſigned to fulfil.——But let us paſs by the years which denote childhood, as no lawful evidence, you'll ſay, in this diſpute; let us follow him to the period, when he is juſt got looſe from tutors and governors, when his actions may be argued upon with leſs exception. If you obſerve, you will find, that one of the firſt and leading propenſities of his nature, is that, which diſcovers itſelf in the deſire of ſociety, and the ſpontaneous love towards thoſe of his kind. And tho' the natural wants and exigencies of his condition, are, no doubt, one reaſon of this amiable impulſe,—God having founded that in him, as a proviſional ſecurity to make him ſocial;—yet tho' it is a reaſon in nature,—

'tis a reaſon to him yet undiſcover'd. Youth is not apt to philoſophiſe ſo deeply—but follows,—as it feels itſelf prompted by the inward workings of benevolence—without view to itſelf, or previous calculation either of the loſs or profit which may accrue. Agreeably to this, obſerve how warm, how heartily he enters into friendſhips,—how diſintereſted, and unſuſpicious in the choice of them,—how generous and open in his profeſſions!—how ſincere and honeſt in making them good!—When his friend is in diſtreſs,—what lengths he will go,—what hazards he will bring upon himſelf,—what embarraſſment upon his affairs to extricate and ſerve him! If man is altogether a ſelfiſh creature (as ſome moraliſers would make him) 'tis certain he does not arrive at the full maturity of it, in this time of his life.—No, if he deſerves any accuſation, 'tis in the other extream, "That in his youth he is generally more FOOL than KNAVE,"—and ſo far from being ſuſpected of living to himſelf, that he lives rather to every body elſe; the unconſciouſneſs of art and deſign in his own intentions, rendering him ſo utterly void of a ſuſpicion of it in others, as to leave him too oft a bubble to every one who will take the advantage.—But you will ſay, he ſoon abates of theſe tranſports of diſintereſted love; and as he grows older,—grows wiſer, and learns to live more to himſelf.

Let us examine.———

That a longer knowledge of the world, and ſome experience of inſincerity,—will teach him a leſſon of more caution in the choice of friendſhips, and leſs forwardneſs in the undiſtinguiſhed offers of his ſervices, is what I grant. But if he cools

cools of theſe, does he not grow warmer ſtill in connections of a different kind? Follow him, I pray you, into the next ſtage of life, where he has enter'd into engagements, and appears as the father of a family, and, you will ſee, the paſſion ſtill remains,—the ſtream ſomewhat more confined, but, runs the ſtronger for it,—the ſame benevolence of heart alter'd only in its courſe, and the difference of objects towards which it tends. Take a ſhort view of him in this light, as acting under the many tender claims which that relation lays upon him,—ſpending many weary days, and ſleepleſs nights—utterly forgetful of himſelf,—intent only upon his family, and with an anxious heart contriving and labouring to preſerve it from diſtreſs, againſt that hour when he ſhall be taken from its protection—Does ſuch a one live to himſelf?———He who riſes early, late takes reſt, and eats the bread of carefulneſs, to ſave others the ſorrow of doing ſo after him—Does ſuch a one live only to himſelf?———Ye who are parents anſwer this queſtion for him. How oft have ye ſacrificed your health,—your eaſe,—your pleaſures,—nay, the very comforts of your lives, for the ſake of your children?—How many indulgencies have ye given up?—What ſelf-denials and difficulties have ye chearfully undergone for them?—In their ſickneſs, or reports of their miſconduct? how have ye *gone on your way ſorrowing?* What alarms within you, when fancy forebodes but imaginary misfortunes hanging over them?—But when real ones have overtaken them, *and miſchief befallen them in the way in which they have gone*, how ſharper than a ſword have ye felt the workings of parental kind-

neſs? In whatever period of human life we look for proofs of ſelfiſhneſs,—let us not ſeek them in this relation of a parent, whoſe whole life, when truly known, is often little elſe but a ſucceſſion of cares, heart-aches, and diſquieting apprehenſions,—enough to ſhew, that he is but an inſtrument in the hands of God, to provide for the well-being of others, to ſerve their intereſt as well as his own.

If you try the truth of this reaſoning upon every other part or ſituation of the ſame life, you will find it holds good in one degree or other; take a view of it out of theſe cloſer connections both of a friend and parent.—Conſider him for a moment, under that natural alliance, in which even a heathen poet has placed him; namely, that of *a man*:—and as ſuch, to his honor, as one capable of ſtanding unconcern'd, in whatever concerns his fellow-creatures.—Compaſſion has ſo great a ſhare in our nature, and the miſeries of this world are ſo conſtant an exerciſe of it, as to leave it in no one's power (who deſerves the name of man) in this reſpect, *to live to himſelf.*

He cannot ſtop his ears againſt the cries of the unfortunate.—The ſad ſtory of the fatherleſs and him that has no helper *muſt* be heard. —*The ſorrowful ſighing of the priſoners will come before him*; and a thouſand other untold caſes of diſtreſs to which the life of man is ſubject, find a way to his heart.——Let intereſt guard the paſſage as it will, *if he has this world's goods, and ſeeth his brother have need, he will not be able to ſhut up his bowels of compaſſion from him.*

Let any man of common humanity look back upon his own life as ſubjected to theſe ſtrong

ſtrong claims, and recollect the influence they have had upon him. How oft the mere impulſes of generoſity and compaſſion have led him out of his way?—In how many acts of charity and kindneſs, his fellow-feeling for others has made him forget himſelf?——In neighbourly offices, how oft he has acted againſt all conſiderations of profit, convenience, nay ſometimes even of juſtice itſelf?—Let him add to this account, how much, in the progreſs of his life, has been given up even to the leſſer obligations of civility and good manners?—What reſtraints they have laid him under? How large a portion of his time,—how much of his inclination and the plan of life he could moſt chuſe, has from time to time been made a ſacrifice to his good nature and diſinclination to give pain or diſguſt to others?

Whoever takes a view of the life of man, in this glaſs wherein I have ſhewn it, will find it ſo beſet and hemm'd in with obligations of one kind or other, as to leave little room to ſuſpect, that *man can live to himſelf:* and ſo cloſely has our Creator link'd us together, (as well as all other parts of his works) for the preſervation of that harmony in the frame and ſyſtem of things which his wiſdom has at firſt eſtabliſhed,—That we find this bond of mutual dependence, however relax'd, is too ſtrong to be broke; and I believe, that the moſt ſelfiſh men find it is ſo, and that they cannot, in fact, live ſo much to themſelves, as the narrowneſs of their own hearts incline them. *Sterne's Sermons.*

CHAP. II.

MANKIND.

A portrait of.

VANITY bids all her ſons to be generous and brave,——and her daughters to be chaſte and courteous.——But why do we want her inſtructions?——Aſk the comedian who is taught apart he feels not.———

Is it that the principles of religion want ſtrength, or that the real paſſion for what is good and worthy will not carry us high enough? ——God! thou knoweſt they carry us too high ——we want not *to be*——but *to ſeem.*—

Look out of your door,—take notice of that man: ſee what diſquieting, intriguing and ſhifting, he is content to go through, merely to be thought a man of plain dealing:——three grains of honeſty would ſave him all this trouble:——alas! he has them not.———

Behold a ſecond, under a ſhew of piety hiding the impurities of a debauched life:—— he is juſt entering the houſe of God:——— would he was more pure—or leſs pious!—but then he could not gain his point.

Obſerve a third going almoſt in the ſame track, with what an inflexible ſanctity of deportment he ſuſtains himſelf as he advances: —every line in his face writes abſtinence;——

every

every ſtride looks like a check upon his deſires: ſee, I beſeech you, how he is cloak'd up with ſermons, prayers and ſacraments; and ſo bemuffled with the externals of religion, that he has not a hand to ſpare for a worldly purpoſe;—he has armour at leaſt—Why does he put it on? Is there no ſerving God without all this? Muſt the garb of religion be extended ſo wide to the danger of it's rending?—Yes, truly, or it will not hide the ſecret——and, What is that?

——That the ſaint has no religion at all.

——But here comes GENEROSITY; giving——not to a decayed artiſt—but to the arts and ſciences themſelves.—See,—he *builds not a chamber in the wall apart for the prophet*; but whole ſchools and colleges for thoſe who come after. LORD! how they will magnify his name!——'tis in capitals already; the firſt—the higheſt, in the gilded rent-roll of every hoſpital and aſylum——

—— One honeſt tear ſhed in private over the unfortunate, is worth it all.

What a problematic ſet of creatures does ſimulation make us! Who would divine that all the anxiety and concern ſo viſible in the airs of one half of that great aſſembly ſhould ariſe from nothing elſe, but that the other half of it may think them to be men of conſequence, penetration, parts and conduct?—What a noiſe amongſt the claimants about it? Behold *Humility*, out of mere pride,—and Honeſty almoſt out of knavery:—*Chaſtity*, never once in harm's way,——and Courage, like a Spaniſh ſoldier upon an Italian ſtage—a bladder full of wind.——

——'Hark!

——Hark! that, the ſound of that trumpet, ——let not my ſoldier run,——tis ſome good Chriſtian giving alms. O PITY, thou gentleſt of human paſſions! ſoft and tender are thy notes, and ill accord they with ſo loud an inſtrument. *Sterne's Sermons.*

CHAP. III.

MANORS.

Their origin, nature, and ſervices.

MANORS are in ſubſtance as antient as the Saxon conſtitution, though perhaps differing a little, in ſome immaterial circumſtances, from thoſe that exiſt at this day: juſt as was obſerved of feuds, that they were partly known to our anceſtors, even before the Norman conqueſt. A manor, *manerium, à manendo*, becauſe the uſual reſidence of the owner, ſeems to have been a diſtrict of ground, held by lords or great perſonages; who kept in their own hands ſo much land as was neceſſary for the uſe of their families, which were called *terrae dominicales*, or *demeſne* lands; being occupied by the lord, or *dominus manerii*, and his ſervants. The other *tenemental* lands they diſtributed among their tenants; which from the

different modes of tenure were called and diſtinguiſhed by two different names. Firſt, book land, or charter land, which was held by deed under certain rents and free-ſervices, and in effect differed nothing from free ſocage lands: and from hence have ariſen all the free-hold tenants which hold of particular manors, and owe ſuit and ſervice to the ſame. The other ſpecies was called folk land, which was held by no aſſurance in writing, but diſtributed among the common folk or people at the pleaſure of the lord, and reſumed at his diſcretion; being indeed land held in villenage, which we ſhall preſently deſcribe more at large. The reſidue of the manor, being uncultivated, was termed the lord's waſte, and ſerved for public roads, and for common of paſture to the lord and his tenants. Manors were formerly called baronies, as they ſtill are lordſhips: and each lord or baron was empowered to hold a domeſtic court, called the court-baron, for redreſſing miſdemeanors and nuſances within the manor, and for ſettling diſputes of property among the tenants. This court is an inſeparable ingredient of every manor; and if the number of ſuitors ſhould ſo fail, as not to leave ſufficient to make a jury or homage, that is, two tenants at the leaſt, the manor itſelf is loſt.

Before the ſtatute of *quia emptores*, 18 Edward I. the king's greater barons, who had a large extent of territory held under the crown, granted out frequently ſmaller manors to inferior perſons to be held of themſelves; which do therefore now continue to be held under a ſuperior lord, who is called in ſuch caſes the lord paramount over all theſe manors: and his ſeignory

is frequently termed an honour, not a manor, eſpecially if it hath belonged to an ancient feodal baron, or hath been at any time in the hands of the crown. In imitation whereof, theſe inferior lords began to carve out and grant to others ſtill more minute eſtates, to be held as of themſelves, and were ſo proceeding downwards *in infinitum*; till the ſuperior lords obſerved, that by this method of ſubinfeudation they loſt all their feodal profits, of wardſhips, marriages and eſcheats, which fell into the hands of theſe meſne or middle lords, who were the immediate ſuperiors of the *terretenant*, or him who occupied the land. This occaſioned the ſtatute of Weſtm. 3. or *quia emptores*, 18. Edw. I. to be made; which directs, that, upon all ſales or feoffments of land, the feoffee ſhall hold the ſame, not of his immediate feoffer, but of the chief lord of the fee, of whom ſuch feoffer himſelf held it. And from hence it is held, that all manors exiſting at this day, muſt have exiſted by immemorial preſcription; or at leaſt ever ſince the 18 Edw. I. when the ſtatute of *quia emptores* was made. For no new manor can have been created ſince that ſtatute: becauſe it is eſſential to a manor, that there be tenants who hold of the lord, and that ſtatute enacts, that for the future no ſubject ſhall create any new tenants to hold of himſelf.

Now with regard to the folk land, or eſtates held in villenage, this was a ſpecies of tenure neither ſtrictly feodal, Norman, or Saxon; but mixed and compounded of them all: and which alſo, on account of the heriots that attend it, may ſeem to have ſomewhat Daniſh in its compoſition. Under the Saxon govern-

ment

ment there were, as Sir William Temple ſpeaks, a ſort of people in a condition of downright ſervitude, uſed and employed in the moſt ſervile works, and belonging, both they, their children, and effects, to the lord of the ſoil, like the reſt of the cattle or ſtock upon it. Theſe ſeem to have been thoſe who held what was called the folk land, from which they were removeable at the lord's pleaſure. On the arrival of the Normans here, it ſeems not improbable, that they, who were ſtrangers to any other than a feodal ſtate, might give ſome ſparks of enfranchiſement to ſuch wretched perſons as fell to their ſhare, by admitting them, as well as others, to the oath of fealty; which conferred a right of protection, and raiſed the tenant to a kind of eſtate ſuperior to downright ſlavery, but inferior to every other condition. This they called villenage, and the tenants villeins, either from the word *vilis*, or elſe, as Sir Edward Coke tells us, *à villa*; becauſe they lived chiefly in villages, and were employed in ruſtic works of the moſt ſordid kind: like the Spartan *helotes*, to whom alone the culture of the lands was conſigned; their rugged maſters, like our northern anceſtors, eſteeming war the only honourable employment of mankind.

Theſe villeins, belonging principally to lords of manors, were either villeins *regardant*, that is, annexed to the manor or land; or elſe they were *in groſs*, or at large, that is, annexed to the perſon of the lord, and transferrable by deed from one owner to another. They could not leave their lord without his permiſſion; but, if they ran away, or were purloined from him, might

might be claimed and recovered by action, like beaſts or other chattels. They held indeed ſmall portions of land by way of ſuſtaining themſelves and families; but it was at the mere will of the lord, who might diſpoſſeſs them whenever he pleaſed; and it was upon villein ſervices, that is, to carry out dung, to hedge and ditch the lord's demeſnes, and any other the meaneſt offices: and theſe ſervices were not only baſe, but uncertain both as to their time and quantity. A villein, in ſhort, was in much the ſame ſtate with us, as lord Moleſworth deſcribes to be that of the boors in Denmark, and Stiernhook attributes alſo to the *traals* or ſlaves in Sweden; which confirms the probability of their being in ſome degree monuments of the Daniſh tyranny. A villein could acquire no property either in lands or goods; but, if he purchaſed either, the lord might enter upon them, ouſt the villein, and ſeiſe them to his own uſe, unleſs he contrived to diſpoſe of them again before the lord had ſeiſed them; for the lord had then loſt his opportunity.

In many places alſo a fine was payable to the lord, if the villein preſumed to marry his daughter to any one without leave from the lord: and, by the common law, the lord might alſo bring an action againſt the huſband for damages in thus purloining his property. For the children of villeins were alſo in the ſame ſtate of bondage with their parents; whence they were called in Latin, *nativi*, which gave riſe to the female appellation of a villein, who was called a *neife*. In caſe of a marriage between a freeman and a neife, or a villein and a freewoman, the iſſue followed the condition of the father, being free

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if he was free, and villein if he was villein; contrary to the maxim of the civil law, that *partus ſequitur ventrem.* But no baſtard could be born a villein, becauſe by another maxim of our law he is *nullius filius*; and as he can gain nothing byinheritance, it were hard that he ſhould loſe his natural freedom by it. The law however protected the perſons of villeins, as the king's ſubjects, againſt atrocious injuries of the lord: for he might not kill, or maim his villein; though he might beat him with impunity, ſince the villein had no action or remedy at law againſt his lord, but in caſe of the murder of his anceſtor, or the maim of his own perſon. Neiſes indeed had alſo an appeal of rape, in caſe the lord violated them by force.

Villeins might be enfranchiſed by manumiſſion, which is either expreſs or implied: expreſs; as where a man granted to the villein a deed of manumiſſion: implied; as where a man bound himſelf in a bond to his villein for a ſum of money, granted him an annuity by deed, or gave him an eſtate in fee, for life, or years: for this was dealing with his villein on the footing of a freeman; it was in ſome of the inſtances giving him an action againſt his lord, and in others veſting an ownerſhip in him entirely inconſiſtent with his former ſtate of bondage. So alſo if the lord brought an action againſt his villein, this enfranchiſed him; for, as the lord might have a ſhort remedy againſt his villein, by ſeiſing his goods, (which was more than equivalent to any damages he could recover) the law, which is always ready to catch at any thing in favour of liberty, preſumed that by bringing this action he meant to ſet his villein on the ſame footing

with

with himſelf, and therefore held it an implied manumiſſion. But, in caſe the lord indicted him for felony, it was otherwiſe; for the lord could not inflict a capital puniſhment on his villein, without calling in the aſſiſtance of the law.

Villeins, by this and many other means, in proceſs of time gained conſiderable ground on their lords; and in particular ſtrengthened the tenure of their eſtates to that degree, that they came to have in them an intereſt in many places full as good, in others better than their lords. For the good-nature and benevolence of many lords of manors having, time out of mind, permitted their villeins and their children to enjoy their poſſeſſions without interruption, in a regular courſe of deſcent, the common law, of which cuſtom is the life, now gave them title to preſcribe againſt the lords; and, on performance of the ſame ſervices, to hold their lands, in ſpight of any determination of the lord's will. For, tho' in general they are ſtill ſaid to hold their eſtates at the will of the lord, yet it is ſuch a will as is agreeable to the cuſtom of the manor; which cuſtoms are preſerved and evidenced by the rolls of the ſeveral courts baron in which they are entered, or kept on foot by the conſtant immemorial uſage of the ſeveral manors in which the lands lie. And, as ſuch tenants had nothing to ſhew for their eſtates but theſe cuſtoms, and admiſſions in purſuance of them, entered on thoſe rolls, or the copies of ſuch entries witneſſed by the ſteward, they now began to be called 'tenants by copy of court roll,' and their tenure itſelf a copyhold.

Thus copyhold tenures, as Sir Edward Coke obſerves,

obſerves, although very meanly deſcended, yet come of an ancient houſe; for, from what has been premiſed it appears, that copyholders are in truth no other but villeins, who, by a long ſeries of immemorial encroachments on the lord, have at laſt eſtabliſhed a cuſtomary right to thoſe eſtates, which before were held abſolutely at the lord's will. Which affords a very ſubſtantial reaſon for the great variety of cuſtoms that prevail in different manors, with regard both to the deſcent of the eſtates, and the privileges belonging to the tenants. And theſe encroachments grew to be ſo univerſal, that when tenure in villenage was aboliſhed, (though copyholds were reſerved) by the ſtatute of Charles II. there was hardly a pure villein left in the nation. For Sir Thomas Smith teſtifies, that in all his time (and he was ſecretary to Edward VI.) he never knew any villein in groſs throughout the realm; and the few villeins regardant that were then remaining were ſuch only as had belonged to biſhops, monaſteries, or other eccleſiaſtical corporations, in the preceding times of popery. For he tells us, that "the holy fathers, monks, and friars, had in their confeſſions, and ſpecially in their extreme and deadly ſickneſs, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, for one Chriſtian man to hold another in bondage: ſo that temporal men by little and little, by reaſon of that terror in their conſciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins. But the ſaid holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, did not in like ſort by theirs; for they alſo had a ſcruple in conſcience to empoveriſh and deſpoil the church ſo much, as to manumit ſuch as were bond to their

their churches, or to the manors which the church had gotten; and ſo kept their villeins ſtill." By theſe ſeveral means the generality of villeins in the kingdom have long ago ſprouted up into copyholders: their perſons being enfranchiſed by manumiſſion or long acquieſcence; but their eſtates, in ſtrictneſs, remaining ſubject to the ſame ſervile conditions and forfeitures as before; though, in general, the villein ſervices are uſually commuted for a ſmall pecuniary quit-rent.

As a farther conſequence of what has been premiſed, we may collect theſe two main principles, which are held to be the ſupporters of a copyhold tenure, and without which it cannot exiſt; 1. That the lands be parcel of, and ſituate within, that manor, under which it is held: 2. That they have been demiſed, or demiſeable, by copy of court roll immemorially. For immemorial cuſtom is the life of all tenures by copy: ſo that no new copyhold can, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be granted at this day.

In ſome manors, where the cuſtom hath been to permit the heir to ſucceed the anceſtor in his tenure, the eſtates are ſtiled copy-holds of inheritance; in others, where the lords have been more vigilant to maintain their rights, they remain copyholds for life only: for the cuſtom of the manor has in both caſes ſo far ſuperſeded the will of the lord, that, provided the ſervices be performed or ſtipulated for by fealty, he cannot, in the firſt inſtance, refuſe to admit the heir of his tenant upon his death; nor, in the ſecond, can he remove his preſent tenant ſo long as he lives, though he holds nominally by the precarious tenure of his lord's will.

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The fruits and appendages of a copyhold tenure, that it hath in common with free tenures, are fealty, ſervices (as well in rents as otherwiſe) reliefs, and eſcheats. The two latter belong only to copyholds of inheritance; the former to thoſe for life alſo. But, beſides theſe, copyholds have alſo heriots, wardſhip, and fines. Heriots, which I think are agreed to be a Daniſh cuſtom, are a render of the beſt beaſt or other good (as the cuſtom may be) to the lord on the death of the tenant. This is plainly a relic of villein tenure; there being originally leſs hardſhip in it, when all the goods and chattels belonged to the lord, and he might have ſeiſed them even in the villein's life-time. Theſe are incident to both ſpecies of copyhold; but wardſhip and fines to thoſe of inheritance only. Wardſhip, in copyhold eſtates, partakes both of that in chivalry and that in ſocage. Like that in chivalry, the lord is the legal guardian, who uſually aſſigns ſome relation of the infant tenant to act in his ſtead: and he, like guardian in ſocage, is accountable to his ward for the profits. Of fines, ſome are in the nature of primer ſeiſins, due on the death of each tenant, others are mere fines for alienation of the lands; in ſome manors only one of theſe ſorts can be demanded, in ſome both, and in others neither. They are ſometimes arbitrary and at the will of the lord, ſometimes fixed by cuſtom: but, even when arbitrary, the courts of law, in favour of the liberty of copyholders, have tied them down to be *reaſonable* in their extent; otherwiſe they might amount to a diſheriſon of the eſtate. No fine therefore is allowed to be taken upon deſcents and alienations,

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(unleſs in particular circumſtances) of more than two years improved value of the eſtate. From this inſtance we may judge of the favourable diſpoſition, that the law of England (which is a law of liberty) hath always ſhewn to this ſpecies of tenants; by removing, as far as poſſible, every real badge of ſlavery from them, however ſome nominal ones may continue. It ſuffered cuſtom very early to get the better of the expreſs terms upon which they held their lands; by declaring, that the will of the lord was to be interpreted by the cuſtom of the manor: and, where no cuſtom has been ſuffered to grow up to the prejudice of the lord, as in this caſe of arbitrary fines, the law itſelf interpoſes in an equitable method, and will not ſuffer the lord to extend his power ſo far as to diſinherit the tenant.

Blackſtone's Commentaries, Book II.

CHAP. IV.

MARRIAGE.

SECT. I.

A political inſtitution, differing in nature according to circumſtance, &c.

A MAN, in conjoining himſelf to a woman, is bound to her according to the terms of his engagement: In begetting children,

dren, he is bound by all the laws of nature and humanity to provide for their ſubſiſtence and education. When he has performed theſe two parts of duty, no being can reproach him with injuſtice or injury. And as the terms of his engagement, as well as the method of ſubſiſting his offspring, may be very various, 'tis mere ſuperſtition to imagine, that marriage can be entirely uniform, and will admit only of one mode or form. Did not human laws reſtrain the natural liberty of men, every particular marriage would be as different as contracts or bargains of any other kind or ſpecies.

As circumſtances vary, and the laws propoſe different advantages, we find, that, in different times and places, they impoſe different conditions on this important contract. In Tonquin 'tis uſual for the ſailors, when the ſhips come into the harbour, to marry for the ſeaſon; and, notwithſtanding this precarious engagement, they are aſſured, 'tis ſaid, of the ſtricteſt fidelity to their bed, as well as in the whole management of their affairs, from thoſe temporary ſpouſes.

I cannot, at preſent, recollect my authorities; but I have ſomewhere read, That the republick of Athens, having loſt many of its citizens by war and peſtilence, allowed every man to marry two wives, in order the ſooner to repair the waſte which had been made by theſe calamities. The poet Euripides happened to be coupled to two noiſy vixens, who ſo plagued him with their jealouſies and quarrels, that he became ever after a profeſt woman-hater; and is the only theatrical writer, perhaps the only

poet, who ever entertained an averſion againſt the whole ſex.

In that agreeable romance called the Hiſtory of the Sevarambians, where a great many men and a few women are ſuppoſed to be ſhipwrecked on a deſart coaſt, the captain of the troop, in order to obviate thoſe endleſs quarrels which aroſe, regulates their marriages after the following manner: He takes a handſome female to himſelf alone; aſſigns one to every couple of inferior officers; and to five of the loweſt rank he gives one wife in common. Could the greateſt legiſlator in ſuch circumſtances have contrived matters with greater wiſdom?

The ancient Britons had a very ſingular kind of marriage, which is to be met with among no other people. Any number of them, as ten or a dozen, joined in a ſociety together, which was perhaps requiſite for mutual defence in thoſe barbarous times. In order to link this ſociety the cloſer, they took an equal number of wives in common; and whatever children were born, were reputed to belong to all of them, and were accordingly provided for by the whole community.

Among the inferior creatures, Nature herſelf, being the ſupreme legiſlator, preſcribes all the laws which regulate their marriages, and varies thoſe laws according to the different circumſtances of the creature. Where ſhe furniſhes with eaſe food and defence to the new-born animal, the preſent embrace terminates the marriage; and the care of the offspring is committed entirely to the female. Where the food is of more difficult purchaſe, the marriage continues

tinues for one ſeaſon, till the common progeny can provide for itſelf; and then the union immediately diſſolves, and leaves each of the parties free to enter into a new engagement at the enſuing ſeaſon. But Nature having endowed man with reaſon, has not ſo exactly regulated every article of his marriage-contract, but has left him to adjuſt them by his own prudence, according to his particular circumſtance and ſituation. Municipal laws are a ſupply to the wiſdom of each individual; and at the ſame time, by reſtraining the natural liberty of men, make the private intereſt ſubmit to the intereſt of the publick. All regulations, therefore, on this head are equally lawful, and equally conformable to the principles of nature; though they are not all equally convenient, or equally uſeful to ſociety. The laws may allow of polygamy, as among the Eaſtern nations; or of voluntary divorces, as among the Greeks and Romans; or they may confine one man to one woman, during the whole courſe of their lives, as among the modern Europeans.

Hume's Eſſays.

SECT. II.

Contraſted with celibacy; and the cauſes of infelicity in the married ſtate pointed out.

"MARRIAGE, ſaid Raſſelas, is evidently the dictate of nature; men and women were made to be companions of each other, and therefore I cannot

not be perſuaded but that marriage is one of the means of happineſs."

"I know not, ſaid the princeſs, whether marriage be more than one of the innumerable modes of human miſery. When I ſee and reckon the various forms of connubial infelicity, the unexpected cauſes of laſting diſcord, the diverſities of temper, the oppoſitions of opinion, the rude colliſions of contrary deſire, where both are urged by violent impulſes, the obſtinate conteſts of diſagreeing virtues, where both are ſupported by conſciouſneſs of good intention, I am ſometimes diſpoſed to think with the ſeverer caſuiſts of moſt nations, that marriage is rather permitted than approved, and that none, but by the inſtigation of a paſſion too much indulged, entangle themſelves with indiſſoluble compacts."

"You ſeem to forget, replied Raſſelas, that you have, even now, repreſented celibacy as leſs happy than marriage. Both conditions may be bad, but they cannot both be worſt. Thus it happens when wrong opinions are entertained, that they mutually deſtroy each other, and leave the mind open to truth."

"I did not expect, anſwered the princeſs, to hear that imputed to falſhood which is the conſequence only of frailty. To the mind, as to the eye, it is difficult to compare with exactneſs objects vaſt in their extent, and various in their parts. Where we ſee or conceive the whole at once, we readily note the diſcriminations and decide the preference: but of two ſyſtems, of which neither can be ſurveyed by any human being in its full compaſs of magnitude and multiplicity of complication, where is the wonder, that

that judging of the whole by parts, I am alternately affected by one and the other as either preſſes on my memory or fancy? We differ from ourſelves juſt as we differ from each other, when we ſee only part of the queſtion, as in the multifarious relations of politicks and morality: but when we perceive the whole at once, as in numerical computations, all agree in one judgment, and none ever varies his opinion.

"Let us not add, ſaid the prince, to the other evils of life, the bitterneſs of controverſy, nor endeavour to vie with each other in ſubtilties of argument. We are employed in a ſearch, of which both are equally to enjoy the ſucceſs, or ſuffer by the miſcarriage. It is therefore fit that we aſſiſt each other. You ſurely conclude too haſtily from the infelicity of marriage againſt its inſtitution; will not the miſery of life prove equally that life cannot be the gift of heaven? The world muſt be peopled by marriage, or peopled without it."

"How the world is to be peopled, returned Nekayah, is not my care, and needs not be yours. I ſee no danger that the preſent generation ſhould omit to leave ſucceſſors behind them: we are not now enquiring for the world, but for ourſelves."

"The good of the whole, ſays Raſſelas, is the ſame with the good of all its parts. If marriage be beſt for mankind, it muſt be evidently beſt for individuals, or a permanent and neceſſary duty muſt be the cauſe of evil, and ſome muſt be inevitably ſacrificed to the convenience of others. In the eſtimate which you have made of the two ſtates, it appears that the incommodities of a ſingle life are, in a great meaſure, neceſſary

and certain, but thoſe of the conjugal ſtate accidental and avoidable.

"I cannot forbear to flatter myſelf that prudence and benevolence will make marriage happy. The general folly of mankind is the cauſe of general complaint. What can be expected but diſappointment and repentance from a choice made in the immaturity of youth, in the ardour of deſire without judgment, without foreſight, without enquiry after conformity of opinions, ſimilarity of manners, rectitude of judgment, or purity of ſentiment?

"Such is the common proceſs of marriage. A youth and maiden meeting by chance, or brought together by artifice, exchange glances, reciprocate civilities, go home, and dream of one another. Having little to divert attention, or diverſify thought, they find themſelves uneaſy when they are apart, and therefore conclude that they ſhall be happy together. They marry, and diſcover what nothing but voluntary blindneſs had before concealed; they wear out life with altercations, and charge nature with cruelty.

"From thoſe early marriages proceeds likewiſe the rivalry of parents and children: the ſon is eager to enjoy the world before the father is willing to forſake it, and there is hardly room at once for two generations. The daughter begins to bloom before the mother can be content to fade, and neither can forbear to wiſh for the abſence of the other.

"Surely all theſe evils may be avoided by that deliberation and delay which prudence preſcribes to irrevocable choice. In the variety and jollity of youthful pleaſures life may be well enough

enough ſupported without the help of a partner. Longer time will increaſe experience, and wider views will allow better opportunities of enquiry and ſelection: one advantage, at leaſt, will be certain; the parents will be viſibly older than their children."

"What reaſon cannot collect, ſaid Nekayah, and what experiment has not yet taught, can be known only from the report of others. I have been told that late marriages are not eminently happy. This is a queſtion too important to be neglected, and I have often propoſed it to thoſe, whoſe accuracy of remark, and comprehenſiveneſs of knowledge, made their ſuffrages worthy of regard. They have generally determined, that it is dangerous for a man and woman to ſuſpend their fate upon each other, at a time when opinions are fixed, and habits are eſtabliſhed; when friendſhips have been contracted on both ſides, when life has been planned into method, and the mind has long enjoyed the contemplation of its own proſpects.

"It is ſcarcely poſſible that two travelling through the world under the conduct of chance, ſhould have been both directed to the ſame path; and it will not often happen that either will quit the track which cuſtom has made pleaſing. When the deſultory levity of youth is ſettled into regularity, it is ſoon ſucceeded by pride aſhamed to yield, or obſtinacy delighting to contend. And even though mutual eſteem produces mutual deſire to pleaſe, time itſelf, as it modifies unchangeably the external mien, determines likewiſe the direction of the paſſions, and gives an inflexible rigidity to the manners. Long

cuſtoms are not eaſily broken: he that attempts to change the courſe of his own life, very often labours in vain; and how ſhall we do that for others which we are ſeldom able to do for ourſelves?"

"But ſurely, interpoſed the prince, you ſuppoſe the chief motive of choice forgotten or neglected. Whenever I ſhall ſeek a wife, it ſhall be my firſt queſtion, whether ſhe be willing to be led by reaſon?"

"Thus it is, ſaid Nekayah, that philoſophers are deceived. There are a thouſand familiar diſputes which reaſon never can decide; queſtions that elude inveſtigation, and make logick ridiculous; caſes where ſomething muſt be done, and where little can be ſaid. Conſider the ſtate of mankind, and enquire how few can be ſuppoſed to act upon any occaſions, whether ſmall or great, with all the reaſons of action preſent to their minds. Wretched would be the pair above all names of wretchedneſs, who ſhould be doomed to adjuſt by reaſon every morning all the minute detail of a domeſtick day.

"Thoſe who marry at an advanced age, will probably eſcape the encroachments of their children; but, in diminution of this advantage, they will be likely to leave them, ignorant and helpleſs, to a guardian's mercy: or, if that ſhould not happen, they muſt at leaſt go out of the world before they ſee thoſe whom they love beſt either wiſe or great.

"From their children, if they have leſs to fear, they have leſs alſo to hope, and they loſe, without equivalent, the joys of early love, and the convenience of uniting with manners pliant,

and

and minds ſuſceptible of new impreſſions, which might wear away their diſſimilitudes by long cohabitation, as ſoft bodies, by continual attrition, conform their ſurfaces to each other.

"I believe it will be found that thoſe who marry late are beſt pleaſed with their children, and thoſe who marry early with their partners."

"The union of theſe two affections, ſaid Raſſelas, would produce all that could be wiſhed. Perhaps there is a time when marriage might unite them, a time neither too early for the father, nor too late for the huſband."

"Every hour, anſwered the princeſs, confirms my prejudice in favour of the poſition ſo often uttered by the mouth of Imlac, 'That nature ſets her gifts on the right hand and on the left.' Thoſe conditions, which flatter hope and attract deſire, are ſo conſtituted, that, as we approach one, we recede from another. There are goods ſo oppoſed that we cannot ſeize both, but, by too much prudence, may paſs between them at too great a diſtance to reach either. This is often the fate of long conſideration; he does nothing who endeavours to do more than is allowed to humanity. Flatter not yourſelf with contrarieties of pleaſure. Of the bleſſings ſet before you make your choice, and be content. No man can taſte the fruits of autumn while he is delighting his ſcent with the flowers of the ſpring: no man can, at the ſame time, fill his cup from the ſource and from the mouth of the Nile." *Dr. Johnſon's Raſſelas.*

CHAP. V.

MEEKNESS.

SECT. I.

Should be conſidered as the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Women.

THE virtue of Meekneſs our religion requires of all without exception. Moſes is celebrated for it in an eminent degree; and our Saviour characterizes himſelf by the epithets Meek and Lowly. The diſpoſition, in general, may be conſidered as Charity's firſt-born, appearing in all the mildeſt attitudes of forbearance, gentleneſs, and peace. But ſtill in men, it may be often found connected with the greateſt boldneſs, and moſt undaunted magnanimity. Much for the honour of true courage, it has been obſerved, that the braveſt minds are commonly the moſt humane, generous, and forgiving. Theſe ſeveral qualities are beautifully blended in many parts of the hiſtory of that man of God juſt now mentioned. Nor can you have forgotten the calm heroiſm of our divine Deliverer, together with that dignity of goodneſs which dwelt about him, in circumſtances of the deepeſt humiliation and ſorrow.

As for you, my fair pupils, we no doubt wiſh you to poſſeſs ſuch fortitude as implies reſolution,

ſolution, wherever your virtue, duty, or reputation is concerned. But along with that we expect to find, on other ſubjects, a timidity peculiar to your ſex; and alſo a degree of complacence, yieldingneſs, and ſweetneſs, beyond what we look for in men. Neither do we, ſo far as I know, ever rank amongſt feminine qualities Valour, ſtrictly ſo called. A woman heading an army, ruſhing into the thickeſt of the foe, ſpreading ſlaughter and death around her, or returning from the field of battle covered with duſt and blood, would ſurely to a civilized nature ſuggeſt ſhocking ideas.

Your beſt emblem, beloved, is the ſmiling form of Peace, robed in white, and bearing a branch of olive. Like the apoſtles and firſt chriſtians, your higheſt glory is to conquer by benignity, and triumph by patience. Roughneſs, and even ferociouſneſs, in a man, we often overlook, and are ſometimes diverted with. In a woman, we are always hurt by them. A loud voice, a bold geſture, a daring countenance, every mark of bravery, ſhall pleaſe in the former, when his courage is particularly called forth: but in a female we wiſh nothing to reign but love and tenderneſs; and where they do reign, they will produce very different effects.

No, my friends, you were not made for ſcenes of danger and oppoſition. I repeat it again; fearfulneſs to a certain degree becomes you; not that cowardice, which many of you ſhow, and ſome of you affect, on every trifling occaſion, and frequently without any occaſion at all. Such behaviour is in you childiſh, and to us unintereſting; if not an object of

contempt. But a worthy woman, ſhrinking from manifeſt hazard, or threatened violence, we are always forward and proud to protect; while, on the other hand, an intrepid female ſeems to renounce our aid, and in ſome reſpect to invade our province. We turn away, and leave her to herſelf.

Let it be likewiſe obſerved, that in your ſex manly exerciſes are never graceful; that in them a tone and figure, as well as an air and deportment, of the maſculine kind, are always forbidding; and that men of ſenſibility deſire in every woman ſoft features, and a flowing voice, a form not robuſt, and a demeanour delicate and gentle. Theſe are conſidered as alike requiſite and natural; I mean, where there is any taſte for elegance. I am even inclined to believe that, ſuppoſing other circumſtances equal, the coarſeſt clown would be better pleaſed with them than with their oppoſites.

Yet farther, the aptitude obſervable, in all the better kind of women, to commiſerate and comfort, to melt into tears at the ſight or hearing of diſtreſs, to take the care of children, to play and prattle with thoſe pretty innocents, to mingle in all the mild ſympathies and tender charities of life; the wonderful dexterity with which they diſarm fierceneſs, and appeaſe wrath; the powerful eloquence they diſplay in aſſuaging the cares, and calming the ſorrows, of thoſe men with whom they are connected; their ſtrong propenſity to an union of hearts, and their unutterable fondneſs where it takes place;—theſe lovely peculiarities in their temperament, theſe finer tunings of their minds, ſeem additional proofs, that ſoftneſs is your proper

proper attribute. Womaniſh ſoftneſs, as it is ſtyled, has never been imputed to any man by way of reproach, without a tacit acknowledgement of this truth in your favour. In the male compoſition, it is certainly a blemiſh wherever found; in the female, a beauty.

Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women.

SECT. II.

An indiſpenſible qualification in Females.

AS a friend to your ſex, I cannot forbear lamenting, that ſo many of them ſhould loſe their conſequence, by building it on qualities inſufficient to ſupport it. Dreſs and ſhow will never long captivate any but ſuperficial minds. The reign of youth and beauty are neceſſarily ſhort. Mere vivacity may amuſe in a girl, but in a woman cannot give laſting delight; and trifling accompliſhments are all too feeble to fix the heart. Yet ſuch things, I am ſorry to ſay it, are the only ſources from whence the generality of young women at preſent ſeek to derive their power. In this purſuit, the unmeaning applauſe, or momentary admiration of a few, is ſuppoſed to found a ſuperior and permanent importance with all. What are the effects? From that moment, female ſoftneſs is forgotten; chriſtian condeſcenſion is held mean; humility, the parent of almoſt every excellence, is utterly deſpiſed; and hence a perpetual aim at proud dominion, inſtead of that obſequious majeſty aſcribed by the poet to innocent Eve—

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an aim, indeed, frequently thwarted in these her daughters, and, when successful, productive of a triumph always disgusting to us her sons—Hence to an unnatural compound of conceited allurement and affected prudery, in place of those genuine attractions which are attendant on modesty and sweetness: hence, to say no more, rivalship in figure, and quarrels for conquest, without end. How often, alas, have we seen these things disgrace the single state! Nor need we wonder, that from habit they are often carried into the conjugal state; with this difference, that the folly and presumption, before diffused and practised on all, are now, perhaps, concentered and turned upon the husband. Would you, my dear charge, avoid a conduct so indecent and unhappy? Would you secure, in both conditions, an influence equally just and amiable? To all other virtues and attainments befitting your sex, learn to join Meekness. Meekness is followed with every honour, while she arrogates none. Female Meekness the better part of mankind have always conspired to crown with never-fading wreaths of love and of praise. It is thine, thou fair form, to command by obeying, and by yielding to conquer. In the family of Religion, "many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women.

SECT. III.

Conduces to personal Attraction.

AS Meekness commonly implies calm passions, so it naturally produces, or happily promotes, that serene

ſerene manner which is always engaging, (a flutter never is) and which, meeting a ſentimental mind, refines very readily into a gracefulneſs of mien, more real than any that is acquired in gay aſſemblies, and to an obſervant eye much more alluring. Imagine a circle of handſome young women, where one is diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by a flowing yet compoſed affability; by a meek look, and modeſt carriage, in which there appears no conſciouſneſs of beauty, no return upon herſelf, no ſtudy to become the object of the company, no viſible attention to her dreſs or perſon, but a recollected air, and ſteady regard to thoſe about her; what ſuperior pleaſure and reſpect will her preſence neceſſarily inſpire! Suppoſe her, if you will, entirely ſilent, from a diſpoſition to give place to others who may ſeem more deſirous of talking; will not her very ſilence intereſt? But when, on finding room left her to ſhare in the diſcourſe, ſhe delivers herſelf with that ſweetneſs of voice which often accompanies mild affections, expreſſing in gentle unſtudied accents ſuch ſentiments as are worthy of her character; I leave you to gueſs the effect on every ſuſceptible byſtander. Alas! my friends, what is all the momentary luſtre you are continually labouring to give thoſe lips, compared with the permanent beauties of a lovely mind, breathing from them in agreeable converſation? Let me add, where the grace of meekneſs has the ſoul in full poſſeſſion, it will be often ſeen beaming in the eyes with a bland ſenſibility, and ſporting on the countenance in placid ſmiles, more ſoft than the ſofteſt glow of a ſummer evening; eſpecially, when the mind is at any time exalted

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into livelier emotions of benignity and joy. Or once more let us ſuppoſe, that affliction has given to ſuch a face a caſt of ſolemnity and languor; it will ſtill retain a kind of ſober charm that is inexpreſſibly affecting. In truth, beauty never touches the heart ſo deeply, as when with a ſweet unreluctant ſurrender it ſeems ready to faint under the ſhock of misfortune, or the load of ſorrow. *Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women.*

CHAP. VI.

MELANCHOLY.

Not to be indulged.

MELANCHOLY in exceſs is an accurſed ſpirit; which if we reſiſt, it will flee from us; but if we indulge it, what was for ſome time a pitiable weakneſs, becomes at length a deliberate crime. Violent tempeſtuous ſorrows are like hurricanes; they ſoon ſpend themſelves, and all is clear and ſerene again: there is more danger from a ſilent penſive grief, which, like a ſlow lingering fog, ſhall continue a long time, and blot the face of nature all around. That ſoft ſoothing melancholy which ſome indulge, is far more injurious to the health than the turbulent and boiſterous paſſions; for it ſaps and

and undermines our ſtrength by degrees, and imperceptibly preys upon us. It gives us wrong ideas; for perſons and things appear to us, juſt according to the diſpoſition we are in to receive grateful or diſadvantageous impreſſions from them; and not as they are in their own nature. And there is as much difference between the face of things, when viewed in a chearful ſerenity of temper, and diſcerned in a ſullen gloomineſs of humour, as there is between the ſame object, when preſented to view by a clear, open, unclouded ſunſhine, which gives the ſight its full play, and does the object full juſtice; and when ſeen by the ſickly light of a lonely taper, which dims its luſtre, and ſhades its beauty.

Whatever allowances, therefore, may be made for the firſt workings of the ſoft and tender paſſions, yet we muſt guard againſt any ſettled habit of grief. Becauſe, 1ſt, while it laſts, we ſhall view the Deity, the world, and ourſelves in a wrong light. The melancholy damp muſt be done away, before the mirrour can give us juſt and impartial images of things. Becauſe, 2dly, it is our duty to promote ſocial happineſs: now chearfulneſs and inoffenſive pleaſantry make us agreeable to others, and others eaſy and happy in our company; whereas habitual melancholy ſpreads an univerſal gloom, and damps the good humour of ſociety. Becauſe, 3dly, not to enjoy with chearfulneſs the bleſſings which remain to us, is not to treat them as what they are, viz. bleſſings, and conſequently matters of joy and complacency; it is to act contrary to the deſign of our Sovereign Benefactor in pouring them upon us, who would

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have us taſte and ſee how gracious he is. Becauſe, 4thly, it is the ſame thing, whether we conſume ourſelves by a ſlow, lingering poiſon, or diſpatch ourſelves by an immediate death: we are equally guilty of ſelf-murder, whether we knowingly wear away the ſprings of life gradually, which is the caſe when we abandon ourſelves to waſting grief; or we cut at once the thread of it violently aſunder.

Seed's Sermons.

CHAP. VII.

MEMORY.

Its uſes.

MEMORY is, among the faculties of the human mind, that of which we make the moſt frequent uſe, or rather that of which the agency is inceſſant or perpetual. Memory is the primary and fundamental power, without which there could be no other intellectual operation. Judgment and ratiocination ſuppoſe ſomething already known, and draw their deciſions only from experience. Imagination ſelects ideas from the treaſures of remembrance, and produces novelty only by varied combinations.

combinations. We do not even form conjectures of diſtant, or anticipations of future events, but by concluding what is poſſible from what is paſt.

The two offices of Memory are Collection and Diſtribution; by one images are accumulated, and by the other produced for uſe. Collection is always the employment of our firſt years, and diſtribution commonly that of our advanced age.

To collect and repoſite the various forms of things, is far the moſt pleaſing part of mental occupation. We are naturally delighted with novelty, and there is a time when all that we ſee is new. When firſt we enter into the world, whitherſoever we turn our eyes, they meet Knowledge with Pleaſure at her ſide; every diverſity of nature pours ideas in upon the ſoul; neither ſearch nor labour are neceſſary; we have nothing more to do than to open our eyes, and curioſity is gratified.

Much of the pleaſure which the firſt ſurvey of the world affords, is exhauſted before we are conſcious of our own felicity, or able to compare our condition with ſome other poſſible ſtate. We have therefore few traces of the joy of our earlieſt diſcoveries; yet we all remember a time when nature had ſo many untaſted gratifications, that every excurſion gave delight which can now be found no longer, when the noiſe of a torrent, the ruſtle of a wood, the ſong of birds, or the play of lambs, had power to fill the attention, and ſuſpend all perception of the courſe of time.

But theſe eaſy pleaſures are ſoon at an end; we have ſeen in a very little time ſo much, that

that we call out for new objects of obſervation, and endeavour to find variety in books and life. But ſtudy is laborious, and not always ſatisfactory; and converſation has its pains as well as pleaſures; we are willing to learn, but not willing to be taught; we are pained by ignorance, but pained yet more by another's knowledge.

From the vexation of pupillage men commonly ſet themſelves free about the middle of life, by ſhutting up the avenues of intelligence, and reſolving to reſt in their preſent ſtate; and they, whoſe ardour of enquiry continues longer, find themſelves inſenſibly forſaken by their inſtructors. As every man advances in life, the proportion between thoſe that are younger, and thoſe that are older than himſelf, is continually changing; and he that has lived half a century, finds few that do not require from him that information which he once expected from thoſe that went before him.

Then it is that the magazines of memory are opened, and the ſtores of accumulated knowledge are diſplayed by vanity or benevolence, or in honeſt commerce of mutual intereſt. Every man wants others, and is therefore glad when he is wanted by them. And as few men will endure the labour of intenſe meditation without neceſſity, he that has learned enough for his profit or his honour, ſeldom endeavours after further acquiſitions.

The pleaſure of recollecting ſpeculative notions would not be much leſs than that of gaining them, if they could be kept pure and unmingled with the paſſages of life; but ſuch is the neceſſary concatenation of our thoughts, that

that good and evil are linked together, and no pleaſure recurs but aſſociated with pain. Every revived idea reminds us of a time when ſomething was enjoyed that is now loſt, when ſome hope was yet not blaſted, when ſome purpoſe had yet not languiſhed into ſluggiſhneſs or indifference.

Whether it be that life has more vexations than comforts, or, what is in the event juſt the ſame, that evil makes deeper impreſſion than good, it is certain that few can review the time paſt without heavineſs of heart. He remembers many calamities incurred by folly, many opportunities loſt by negligence. The ſhades of the dead riſe up before him, he laments the companions of his youth, the partners of his amuſements, the aſſiſtants of his labours, whom the hand of death has ſnatched away.

When an offer was made to Themiſtocles of teaching him the art of Memory, he anſwered, that he would rather wiſh for the art of Forgetfulneſs. He felt his imagination haunted by phantoms of miſery which he was unable to ſuppreſs, and would gladly have calmed his thoughts with ſome *oblivious antidote*. In this we all reſemble one another; the hero and the ſage are, like vulgar mortals, overburthened by the weight of life, all ſhrink from recollection, and all wiſh for an art of forgetfulneſs. *Idler*, N°. 44.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

ANTIENT ENGLISH MINSTRELS.

Some account of them.

THE Minſtrels ſeem to have been the genuine ſucceſſors of the antient Bards, who united the arts of poetry and muſic, and ſung verſes to the harp, of their own compoſing. It is well known what reſpect was ſhewn to their Bards by the Britons: and no leſs was paid to the northern Scalds by moſt of the nations of Gothic race. Our Saxon anceſtors, as well as their brethren the antient Danes, had been accuſtomed to hold men of this profeſſion in the higheſt reverence. Their ſkill was conſidered as ſomething divine, their perſons were deemed ſacred, their attendance was ſolicited by kings, and they were every where loaded with honours and rewards. In ſhort, poets and their art were held among them, in that rude admiration, which is ever ſhown by an ignorant people to ſuch as excel them in intellectual accompliſhments. When the Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity, in proportion as letters prevailed among them, this rude admiration began to abate, and poetry was no longer a peculiar profeſſion. The poet and the Minſtrel became two perſons. Poetry was cultivated by men of letters indiſcriminately, and many of the moſt popular

pular rhimes were compoſed amidſt the leiſure and retirement of monaſteries. But the Minſtrels continued a diſtinct order of men, and got their livelihood by ſinging verſes to the harp, at the houſes of the great. There they were ſtill hoſpitably and reſpectfully received, and retained many of the honours ſhown to their predeceſſors the Bards and Scalds. And indeed, tho' ſome of them only recited the compoſitions of others, many of them ſtill compoſed ſongs themſelves, and all of them could probably invent a few ſtanzas on occaſion. I have no doubt but moſt of the old heroic ballads we have extant were produced by this order of men. For altho' ſome of the larger metrical romances might come from the pen of the monks or others, yet the ſmaller narratives were probably compoſed by the Minſtrels who ſung them. From the amazing variations which occur in different copies of theſe old pieces, it is evident they made no ſcruple to alter each other's productions, and the reciter added or omitted whole ſtanzas, according to his own fancy or convenience.

In the early ages, as is hinted above, this profeſſion was held in great reverence among the Saxon tribes, as well as among their Daniſh brethren. This appears from two remarkable facts in hiſtory, which ſhow that the ſame arts of muſic and ſong were equally admired among both nations, and that the privileges and honours conferred upon the profeſſors of them were common to both; as it is well known their cuſtoms, manners, and even language, were not in thoſe times very diſſimilar.

When

When our great king Alfred was desirous to learn the true situation of the Danish army, which had invaded his realm, he assumed the dress and character of a Minstrel, and taking his harp, and only one attendant, (for in the early times it was not unusual for a Minstrel to have a servant to carry his harp) he went with the utmost security into the Danish camp. And tho' he could not but be known to be a Saxon, the character he had assumed procured him a hospitable reception; he was admitted to entertain the king at table, and staid among them long enough to contrive that assault, which afterwards destroyed them. This was in the year 878.

About sixty years after, a Danish king made use of the same disguise to explore the camp of our king Athelstan. With his harp in his hand, and dressed like a Minstrel, Anlaff, king of the Danes, went among the Saxon tents, and taking his stand near the king's pavilion, began to play, and was immediately admitted. There he entertained Athelstan and his lords with his singing and his music: and was at length dismissed with an honourable reward; though his songs must have discovered him to have been a Dane. Athelstan was saved from the consequences of this stratagem by a soldier, who had observed Anlaff bury the money which had been given him, from some scruple of honour, or motive of superstition. This occasioned a discovery.

From the uniform procedure of both these kings, it is plain that the same mode of entertainment prevailed among both people, and that

that the Minſtrel was a privileged character among both. Even ſo late as the reign of Edward II. the Minſtrels were eaſily admitted into the royal preſence; as appears from a paſſage in Stow, which alſo ſhews the ſplendor of their appearance.

"In the year 1316, Edward II. did ſolemnize his feaſt of Pentecoſt at Weſtminſter in the great hall: where ſitting royally at the table with his peers about him, there entered a woman adorned like a Minſtrel, ſitting on a great horſe trapped, as Minſtrels then uſed, who rode round about the tables, ſhewing paſtime; and at length came up to the king's table, and laid before him a letter, and forth-with turning her horſe ſaluted every one, and departed."—The ſubject of this letter was a remonſtrance to the king on the favours heaped by him on his minions, to the neglect of his knights and faithful ſervants.

The meſſenger was ſent in a Minſtrel's habit, as what would gain an eaſy admiſſion; and was a woman concealed under that habit, I ſuppoſe, to diſarm the king's reſentment: for I do not find that any of the real Minſtrels were of the female ſex, and therefore conclude this was only an artful contrivance peculiar to that occaſion.

In the 4th year of Richard II. John of Gaunt erected Tutbury in Staffordſhire, a court of Minſtrels, with a full power to receive ſuit and ſervice from the men of this profeſſion within five neighbouring counties, to enact laws, and determine their controverſies; and to apprehend and arreſt ſuch of them, as ſhould refuſe to appear at the ſaid court, annually held

on the 16th of Auguſt. For this they had a charter, by which they were empowered to appoint a king of the Minſtrels, with four officers, to preſide over them. Theſe were every year elected with great ceremony, the whole form of which is deſcribed by Dr. Plott: in whoſe time, however, they ſeem to have become mere muſicians.

Even ſo late as the reign of Henry VIII. the reciters of verſes, or moral ſpeeches learnt by heart, intruded without ceremony into all companies; not only in taverns, but in the houſes of the nobility themſelves. This we learn from Eraſmus, whoſe argument led him only to deſcribe a ſpecies of theſe men who did not ſing their compoſitions; but the others that did, enjoyed without doubt the ſame privileges.

The reader will find that the Minſtrels continued down to the reign of Elizabeth; in whoſe time they had loſt much of their dignity, and were ſinking into contempt and neglect. Yet ſtill they ſuſtained a character far ſuperior to any thing we can conceive at preſent of the ſingers of the old ballads.

When queen Elizabeth was entertained at Killingworth caſtle by the earl of Lieceſter in 1575, among the many devices and pageants which were exhibited for her entertainment, one of the perſonages introduced was that of an antient Minſtrel, whoſe appearance and dreſs are ſo minutely deſcribed by a writer there preſent, and give us ſo diſtinct an idea of the character, that I ſhall quote the paſſage at large.

"A perſon very meet ſeemed he for the purpoſe, of a xlv years old, apparelled partly as he would himſelf. His cap off; his head ſeemly rounded

rounded tonſter-wiſe *: fair kembed, that with a ſponge daintily dipt in a little capon's greace, was finely ſmoothed, to make it ſhine like a mallard's wing. His beard ſmugly ſhaven: and yet his ſhirt after the new trink, with ruffs fair ſtarched, ſleeked and gliſtering like a pair of new ſhoes, marſhalled in good order with a ſetting ſtick, and ſtrut, 'that' every ruff ſtood up like a wafer. A ſide [i. e. long] gown of Kendale green, after the freſhneſs of the year now, gathered at the neck with a narrow gorget, faſtened afore with a white claſp and a keeper cloſe up to the chin; but eaſily, for heat, to undo when he liſt. Seemly begirt in a red caddis girdle: from that a pair of capped Sheffield knives hanging a'two ſides. Out of his boſom drawn forth a lappet of his napkin † edged with a blue lace, and marked with a D for Damian, for he was but a batchelor yet.

"His gown had ſide [i. e. long] ſleeves down to mid-leg, ſlit from the ſhoulder to the hand, and lined with white cotton. His doub'et-ſleeves of black worſted: upon them a pair of points of tawny chamlet laced along the wriſt with blue threaden poinets ‡, a wealt towards the hands of fuſtian-a-napes. A pair of red neather ſtocks. A pair of pumps on his feet, with a croſs cut at his toes for corns: not new indeed, yet cleanly blackt with ſoot, and ſhining as a ſhoeing horn.

"About his neck a red ribband ſuitable to his girdle. His harp in good grace dependent

* "Tonſure-wiſe," after the manner of the monks.
† i. e. handkerchief or cravat.
‡ Perhaps points.

before him. His wreſt § tyed to a green lace and hanging by: under the gorget of his gown a fair flaggon chain, (pewter ‖ for) ſilver, as a ſquire Minſtrel of Middleſex, that travelled the country this ſummer ſeaſon, unto fair and worſhipful mens houſes. From his chain hung a ſcutcheon, with metal, and colour, reſplendant upon his breaſt, of the antient arms of Iſlington."

—This minſtrel is deſcribed as belonging to that village. I ſuppoſe ſuch as were retained by noble families, wore their arms hanging down by a ſilver chain as a kind of badge. From the expreſſion of ſquire Minſtrel above, we may conclude there were other inferior orders, as yeoman Minſtrels, or the like.

This Minſtrel, the author tells us a little below, "After three lowly courteſies, cleared his voice with a hem,—and wiped his lips with the hollow of his hand for 'filing his napkin, tempered a ſtring or two with his wreſt, and after a little warbling on his harp for a prelude, came forth with a ſolemn ſong, warranted for ſtory out of king Arthur's acts, &c."

N. B. This Eſſay is taken from the ingenious Mr. Percy's *Reliques of antient Engliſh Poetry*, lately publiſhed.

Towards the end of the ſixteenth century this claſs of men had loſt all credit, and were ſunk ſo low in the public opinion, that in the 39th year of Elizabeth a ſtatute was paſſed by

§ The key, or ſcrew, with which he tuned his harp.

‖ The reader will remember that this was not a real Minſtrel, but only one perſonating that character; his ornaments therefore were only ſuch as outwardly repreſented thoſe of a real Minſtrel.

which

which "Minſtrels wandering abroad" were included among "rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars," and were adjudged to be puniſhed as ſuch. This act ſeems to have put an end to the profeſſion, for after this time they are no longer mentioned.

CHAP. IX.

MODERATION.

In our wiſhes and deſires neceſſary to attain happineſs.

WE ſcarce ſee any virtue ſo hard to be put in practice, and which the generality of mankind ſeem ſo unwilling to learn, as that of knowing when they have enough, and when it is time to give over their worldly purſuits.—— Aye! but nothing is more eaſy, you will anſwer, than to fix this point, and ſet certain bounds to it.—"For my own part, you will ſay, I declare, I want and would wiſh no more but a ſufficient competency of thoſe things, which are requiſite to the real uſes and occaſions of life, ſuitable to the way I have been taught to expect from uſe and education."—But recollect how ſeldom it ever happens, when theſe points

are ſecured, but that new occaſions and new neceſſities preſent themſelves, and every day as you grow richer, freſh wants are diſcovered, which riſe up before you, as you aſcend the hill; ſo that every ſtep you take,—every acceſſion to your fortune, ſets your deſires one degree further from reſt and ſatisfaction,—that ſomething you have not yet graſped, and poſſibly never ſhall;——that devil of a phantom unpoſſeſſed and unpoſſeſſable, is perpetually haunting you, and ſtepping in betwixt you and your contentment.———Unhappy creature! to think of enjoying that bleſſing without moderation?—or imagine that ſo ſacred a temple can be raiſed upon the foundation of wealth or power!—If the ground work is not laid within your own mind, they will as ſoon add a cubit to your ſtature, as to your happineſs.—To be convinced it is ſo,—pray look up to thoſe who have got as high as their warmeſt wiſhes could carry them in this aſcent,—do you obſerve they live the better, the longer, the merrier,—or that they ſleep the ſounder in their beds, for having twice as much as they wanted, or well know how to diſpoſe of?—Of all rules for calculating happineſs, this is the moſt deceitful, and which few but weak minds, and thoſe unpractiſed in the world too, ever think of applying as the meaſure in ſuch an eſtimation —— Great, and inexpreſſible may be the happineſs, which a moderate fortune and moderate deſires with a conſciouſneſs of virtue will ſecure.—Many are the ſilent pleaſures of the honeſt peaſant, who riſes chearful to his labor;—why ſhould they not?———Look into his houſe, the ſeat of each man's happineſs;—has he not the ſame

domeſtic

domeſtic endearments,—the ſame joy and comfort in his children, and as flattering hopes of their doing well, to enliven his hours and glad his heart, as you could conceive in the higheſt ſtation?—And I make no doubt in general, but if the true ſtate of his joy and ſufferings, could be fairly ballanced with thoſe of his betters, whether any thing would appear at the foot of the account, but what would recommend the moral of this diſcourſe.——This, I own, is not to be attained to, by the cynical ſtale trick of haranguing againſt the goods of fortune,—they were never intended to be talked out of the world.—But as virtue and true wiſdom lie in the middle of extremes,—on one hand, not to neglect and deſpiſe riches, ſo as to forget ourſelves,—and on the other, not to purſue and love them ſo, as to forget God;—to have them ſometimes in our heads,—but always ſomething more important in our hearts.

Sterne's Sermons.

CHAP. X.

MOTHERS.

Their duty deſcribed.

A FEW years elapſed, and I pleaſe myſelf with the proſpect of ſeeing you, my honoured auditreſs, ſurrounded with a family of

your own, dividing with the partner of your heart the anxious, yet delightful labour, of training your common offspring to virtue and ſociety, to religion and immortality; while, by thus dividing it, you leave him more at leiſure to plan and provide for you all; a taſk, which he proſecutes with tenfold alacrity, when he reflects on the beloved objects of it, and finds all his toils both ſoothed and rewarded by the wiſdom and ſweetneſs of your deportment to him and to his children.

I think I behold you, while he is otherwiſe neceſſarily engaged, caſting your fond maternal regards round and round through the pretty ſmiling circle; not barely to ſupply their bodily wants, but chiefly to watch the gradual openings of their minds, and to ſtudy the turns of their various tempers, that you may "teach the young idea how to ſhoot," and lead their paſſions by taking hold of their hearts. I admire the happy mixture of affection and ſkill which you diſplay in aſſiſting Nature, not forcing her; in directing the underſtanding, not hurrying it; in exerciſing without wearying the memory, and in moulding the behaviour without conſtraint. I obſerve you prudently overlooking a thouſand childiſh follies. You forgive any thing but falſhood or obſtinacy: you commend as often as you can; you reprove only when you muſt; and then you do it to purpoſe, with moderation and temper, but with ſolemnity and firmneſs, till you have carried your point. You are at pains to excite honeſt emulation: you take care to avoid every appearance of partiality; to convince your dear charge, that they are all dear to you, that ſuperior merit alone can entitle to ſuperior favour,

that

that you will deny to none of them what is proper, but that the kindeſt and moſt ſubmiſſive will be always preferred. At times, you even partake in their innocent amuſements, as if one of them; that they may love you as their friend, while they revere you as their parent. In graver hours, you inſinuate knowledge and piety by your converſation and example, rather than by formal lectures and awful admonitions. And finally, to ſecure as far as poſſible the ſucceſs of all, you dedicate them daily to God, with the moſt fervent ſupplications for his bleſſing.—— Thus you ſhow yourſelf a conſcientious and a judicious mother at the ſame moment; and in that light I view you with veneration. I honour you as ſuſtaining a truly glorious character on the great theatre of humanity. Of the part you have acted I look forward to the conſequences, direct and collateral, future and remote. Thoſe lovely plants which you have reared I ſee ſpreading, and ſtill ſpreading, from houſe to houſe, from family to family, with a rich increaſe of fruit. I ſee you diffuſing virtue and happineſs through the human race; I ſee generations yet unborn riſing up to call you Bleſſed! I worſhip that providence which has deſtined you for ſuch uſefulneſs, for ſuch felicity. I pity the man that is not charmed with the image of ſo much excellence; an image which, in one degree or another, has been realized by many women of worth and underſtanding in every age: I will add, an image which, when realized, cannot fail of being contemplated with peculiar delight by all the benevolent ſpirits of heaven, with the Father and Saviour of the world at their head! And are

there, amongſt the ſons of men, any that will preſume to depreciate ſuch women, to ſpeak of them with an air of ſuperiority, or to ſuggeſt that your ſex are not capable of filling the more important ſpheres of life?

Sermons to Young Women.

BOOK XIII.

CHAP. I.

NOBILITY.

An account of their Origin, Manner of Creation, and Privileges.

1. A Duke, though it be with us, as a mere title of nobility, inferior in point of antiquity to many others, yet it is ſuperior to all of them in rank; being the firſt title of dignity after the royal family. Among the Saxons the Latin name of dukes, *duces*, is very frequent, and ſignified, as among the Romans, the commanders or leaders of their armies, whom in their own language they called Heretoga; and in the laws of Henry I. (as tranſlated by Lambard) we find them called *heretochii*. But after the Norman conqueſt, which changed

changed the military polity of the nation, the kings themſelves continuing for many generations dukes of Normandy, they would not honour any ſubjects with that title, till the time of Edward the third; who, claiming to be king of France, and thereby loſing the ducal in the royal dignity, in the eleventh year of his reign created his ſon Edward the black prince, duke of Cornwall: and many, of the royal family eſpecially, were afterwards raiſed to the ſame honour. However, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1572, the whole order became utterly extinct: but it was revived about fifty years afterwards by her ſucceſſor, who was remarkably prodigal of honours, in the perſon of George Villiers duke of Buckingham.

2. A marqueſs, *marchio*, is the next degree of nobility. His office formerly was (for dignity and duty never were ſeparated by our anceſtors) to guard the frontiers and limits of the kingdom; which were called the marches, from the Teutonic word, *marche*, a limit: as, in particular, were the marches of Wales and Scotland, while they continued to be enemies countries. The perſons who had command there, were called lords marchers, or marqueſſes; whoſe authority was aboliſhed by ſtatute 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27: though the title had long before been made a mere enſign of honour; Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, being created marqueſs of Dublin, by Richard II. in the eighth year of his reign.

3. An earl is a title of nobility ſo antient, that its original cannot clearly be traced out. Thus much ſeems tolerably certain, that among

the Saxons they were called *ealdormen*, *quaſi* elder men, ſignifying the ſame as ſenior or ſenator among the Romans; and alſo ſchire-men, becauſe they had each of them the civil government of a ſeveral diviſion or ſhire. On the irruption of the Danes, they changed the name to eorles, which, according to Camden, ſignified the ſame in their language. In Latin they are called *comites* (a title firſt uſed in the empire) from being the king's attendants; "*a ſocietate nomen ſumpſerunt, reges enim tales ſibi aſſociant.*" After the Norman conqueſt they were for ſome time called counts, or countees, from the French; but they did not long retain that name themſelves, though their ſhires are from thence called counties to this day. It is now become a mere title, they having nothing to do with the government of the county; which is now entirely devolved on the ſheriff, the earl's deputy, or *vice-comes*. In all writs, and commiſſions, and other formal inſtruments, the king, when he mentions any peer of the degree of an earl, always ſtiles him "truſty and well-beloved couſin:" an appellation as antient as the reign of Henry IV. who being either by his wife, his mother, or his ſiſters, actually related or allied to every earl in the kingdom, artfully and conſtantly acknowledged that connexion in all his letters and other public acts; from whence the uſage has deſcended to his ſucceſſors, though the reaſon has long ago failed.

4. The name of *vice-comes* or viſcount was afterwards made uſe of as an arbitrary title of honour, without any ſhadow of office pertaining to it, by Henry the ſixth; when in the eighteenth

eighteenth year of his reign, he created John Beaumont a peer, by the name of viſcount Beaumont, which was the firſt inſtance of the kind.

5. A baron's is the moſt general and univerſal title of the nobility; for originally every one of the peers of ſuperior rank had alſo a barony annexed to his other titles. But it hath ſometimes happened that, when an antient baron hath been raiſed to a new degree of peerage, in the courſe of a few generations the two titles have deſcended differently; one perhaps to the male deſcendants, the other to the heirs general; whereby the earldom or other ſuperior title hath ſubſiſted without a barony; and there are alſo modern inſtances where earls and viſcounts have been created without annexing a barony to their other honours: ſo that now the rule does not hold univerſally that all peers are barons. The original and antiquity of baronies has occaſioned great enquiries among our Engliſh antiquarians. The moſt probable opinion ſeems to be, that they were the ſame with our preſent lords of manors; to which the name of court baron, (which is the lord's court, an incident to every manor) gives ſome countenance. It may be collected from king John's Magna Charta, that originally all lords of manors, or barons, that held of the king *in capite*, had ſeats in the great council or parliament, till about the reign of that prince the conflux of them became ſo large and troubleſome, that the king was obliged to divide them, and ſummon only the greater barons in perſon; leaving the ſmall ones to be ſummoned by the ſheriff, and (as it is ſaid) to ſit by repreſentation in another houſe; which gave

riſe

riſe to the ſeparation of the two houſes of parliament. By degrees the title came to be confined to the greater barons, or lords of parliament only; and there were no other barons among the peerage but ſuch as were ſummoned by writ, in reſpect of the tenure of their lands or baronies, till Richard the ſecond firſt made it a mere title of honour, by conferring it on divers perſons by his letters patent.

Having made this ſhort enquiry into the original of our ſeveral degrees of nobility, I ſhall next conſider the manner in which they may be created. The right of peerage ſeems to have been originally territorial; that is, annexed to lands, honours, caſtles, manors, and the like, the proprietors, and poſſeſſors of which were (in right of thoſe eſtates) allowed to be peers of the realm, and were ſummoned to parliament to do ſuit and ſervice to their ſovereign: and, when the land was alienated, the dignity paſſed with it as appendant. Thus the biſhops ſtill ſit in the houſe of lords in right of ſucceſſion to certain antient baronies annexed, or ſuppoſed to be annexed, to their epiſcopal lands: and thus, in 11 Hen. VI. the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Arundel was adjudged to confer an earldom on its poſſeſſor. But afterwards, when alienations grew to be frequent, the dignity of peerage was confined to the lineage of the party ennobled, and inſtead of territorial became perſonal. Actual proof of a tenure by barony became no longer neceſſary to conſtitute a lord of parliament; but the record of the writ of ſummons to them or their anceſtors was admitted as a ſufficient evidence of the tenure.

Peers

Peers are now created either by writ, or by patent: for thoſe who claim by preſcription muſt ſuppoſe either a writ or patent made to their anceſtors; though by length of time it is loſt. The creation by writ, or the king's letter, is a ſummons to attend the houſe of peers, by the ſtile and title of that barony, which the king is pleaſed to confer: that by patent is a royal grant to a ſubject of any dignity and degree of peerage. The creation by writ is the more antient way; but a man is not ennobled thereby, unleſs he actually takes his ſeat in the houſe of lords: and therefore the moſt uſual, becauſe the ſureſt, way is to grant the dignity by patent, which enſures to a man and his heirs according to the limitation thereof, though he never himſelf makes uſe of it. Yet it is frequent to call up the eldeſt ſon of a peer to the houſe of lords, by writ of ſummons, in the name of his father's barony: becauſe in that caſe there is no danger of his children's loſing the nobility in caſe he never takes his ſeat; for they will ſucceed to their grandfather. Creation by writ has alſo one advantage over that by patent: for a perſon created by writ holds the dignity to him and his heirs, without any words to that purport in the writ; but in letters patent there muſt be words to direct the inheritance, elſe the dignity enſures only to the grantee for life. For a man or woman may be created noble for their own lives, and the dignity not deſcend to their heirs at all, or deſcend only to ſome particular heirs: as where a peerage is limited to a man, and the heirs male of his body by Elizabeth his preſent lady, and

and not to ſuch heirs by any former or future wife.

Let us next take a view of a few of the principal incidents attending the nobility, excluſive of their capacity as members of parliament, and as hereditary counſellors of the crown. And firſt we muſt obſerve, that in criminal caſes, a nobleman ſhall be tried by his peers. The great are always obnoxious to popular envy: were they to be judged by the people, they might be in danger from the prejudice of their judges; and would moreover be deprived of the privilege of the meaneſt ſubjects, that of being tried by their equals, which is ſecured to all the realm by Magna Charta, c. 29. It is ſaid, that it does not extend to biſhops; who, though they are lords of parliament, and ſit there by virtue of their baronies which they hold *jure eccleſiae*, yet are not ennobled in blood, and conſequently not peers with the nobility. As to peereſſes, no proviſion was made for their trial when accuſed of treaſon or felony, till after Eleanor dutcheſs of Glouceſter, wife to the Lord Protector, had been accuſed of treaſon and found guilty of witchcraft, in an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, through the intrigues of cardinal Beaufort. This very extraordinary trial gave occaſion to a ſpecial ſtatute, 20 Hen. VI. c. 9. which enacts that peereſſes either in their own right, or by marriage, ſhall be tried before the ſame judicature as peers of the realm. If a woman, noble in her own right, marries a commoner, ſhe ſtill remains noble, and ſhall be tried by her peers: but if ſhe be only noble by marriage, then by a ſecond marriage with a commoner, ſhe loſes her

her dignity; for as by marriage it is gained, by marriage it is alſo loſt. Yet if a ducheſs dowager marries a baron, ſhe continues a ducheſs ſtill; for all the nobility are *pares*, and therefore it is no degradation. A peer, or peereſs (either in her own right or by marriage) cannot be arreſted in civil caſes: and they have alſo many peculiar privileges annexed to their peerage in the courſe of judicial proceedings. A peer, ſitting in judgment, gives not his verdict upon oath, like an ordinary juryman, but upon his honour; he anſwers alſo to bills in chancery upon his honour, and not upon his oath; but, when he is examined as a witneſs either in civil or criminal caſes, he muſt be ſworn: for the reſpect, which the law ſhews to the honour of a peer, does not extend ſo far as to overturn a ſettled maxim, that *in judicio non creditur niſi juratis*. The honour of peers is however ſo highly tendered by the law, that it is much more penal to ſpread falſe reports of them, and certain other great officers of the realm, than of other men: ſcandal againſt them being called by the peculiar name of *ſcandalum magnatum*; and ſubjected to peculiar puniſhment by divers antient ſtatutes.

A peer cannot loſe his nobility, but by death or attainder: though there was an inſtance, in the reign of Edward the fourth, of the degradation of George Neville duke of Bedford by act of parliament, on account of his poverty, which rendered him unable to ſupport his dignity. But this is a ſingular inſtance, which ſerves at the ſame time, by having happened, to ſhew the power of parliament; and, by having happened but once, to ſhew how tender

the

the parliament hath been, in exerting ſo high a power. It hath been ſaid indeed, that if a baron waſte his eſtate, ſo that he is not able to ſupport the degree, the king may degrade him; but it is expreſsly held by latter authorities, that a peer cannot be degraded but by act of parliament. *Dr. Blackſtone's Commentaries.*

CHAP. II.

NONSENSE.

Its Hiſtory.

NONSENSE was the daughter of Ignorance, begot on Falſehood, many ages ago, in a dark cavern in Boeotia. As ſhe grew up, ſhe inherited all the qualities of her parents: ſhe diſcovered too warm a genius to require being ſent to ſchool; but while other dull brats were poring over an horn-book, ſhe amuſed herſelf with ſpreading fantaſtical lies, taught her by her mamma, and which have in later ages been familiarly known to us under the names of Sham, Banter, and Humbug. When ſhe grew up, ſhe received the addreſſes, and ſoon became the wife of Impudence. Who he was, or of what profeſſion, is uncertain: ſome ſay he was the ſon of Ignorance by another venter, and was ſuffered to become the huſband

huſband of Nonſenſe in thoſe dark ages of the world, as the Ptolemies of Egypt married their own ſiſters. Some record, that he was in the army; others, that he was an interpreter of the laws; and others, a divine. However this was, Nonſenſe and Impudence were ſoon inſeparably united to each other, and became the founders of a more noble and numerous family, than any yet preſerved on any tree of deſcent whatſoever; of which ingenious device they were ſaid to have been the firſt inventors.

It is my chief intent at preſent to record the great exploits of that branch of the family, who have made themſelves remarkable in England; though they began to ſignalize themſelves very early, and are ſtill very flouriſhing in moſt parts of the world. Many of them were Ægyptian Prieſts four thouſand years ago, and told the people, that it was religion to worſhip dogs, monkeys, and green leeks: and their deſcendants prevailed on the Greeks and Romans to build temples in honour of ſuppoſed deities, who were, in their own eſtimation of them, whores and whore-mongers, pickpockets and drunkards. Others roſe up ſome ages after in Turkey, and perſuaded the people to embrace the doctrine of bloodſhed and of the ſword, in the name of the moſt merciful God: and others have manifeſted their lineal deſcent from Nonſenſe and Impudence, by affirming that there is no God at all. There were alſo among them many ſhrewd philoſophers; ſome of whom, though they were racked with a fit of the ſtone, or laid up with a gouty toe, declared that they felt not the leaſt degree of pain; and others would not truſt their own eyes,

eyes, but when they ſaw an horſe or a dog, could not tell whether it was not a chair or a table, and even made a doubt of their own exiſtence.

We have no certain account of the progreſs of Nonſenſe here in England, 'till after the Reformation. All we hear of her and her progeny before that period of time is, that they led a lazy life among the monks in cloyſters and convents, dreaming over old legends of ſaints, drawing up breviaries and maſs-books, and ſtringing together ſome barbarous Latin verſes in rhyme. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, ſo little encouragement was given to her family, that it ſeemed to have been almoſt extinct: but in the ſucceeding reign, it flouriſhed again, and filled the moſt conſiderable offices in the nation. Nonſenſe became a great favourite at court, where ſhe was highly careſſed on account of her wit, which conſiſted in puns and quibbles; and the bonny monarch himſelf was thought to take a more than ordinary delight in her converſation. At this time, many of her progeny took orders, and got themſelves preferred to the beſt livings, by turning the Evangeliſts into punſters, and making St. Paul quibble from the pulpit. Among the reſt, there was a biſhop, a favourite ſon of Nonſenſe, of whom it is particularly recorded, that he uſed to tickle his courtly audience, by telling them that *matrimony* was become a *matter of money*, with many other right reverend jeſts recorded in Joe Miller. Several brothers of this family were likewiſe bred to the bar, and very gravely harangued againſt old women ſucked by devils in the ſhape of ram-cats, &c. As an inſtance of the profound

profound wiſdom and ſagacity of the legiſlature in thoſe days, I need only mention that juſt and truly pious act of parliament made againſt the crying ſin of witchcraft. 1 Jac. I. chap. 12. "Such as ſhall uſe invocation or conjuration of any evil ſpirit, or ſhall conſult, covenant with, entertain, employ, fee or reward any evil ſpirit to any intent, or take up any dead perſon, or part thereof, to be uſed in witchcraft, or have uſed any of the ſaid arts, whereby any perſon ſhall be killed, conſumed, or lamed in his or her body, they, together with their acceſſories before the fact, ſhall ſuffer as felons, without benefit of clergy."

In the troubleſome times of king Charles the firſt, Nonſenſe and her family ſided with the Parliament. Theſe ſet up new ſects in religion: ſome of them cropt their hair ſhort, and called themſelves the Enlightened; ſome fell into trances, and pretended to ſee holy viſions; while others got into tubs, and held forth, with many whinings, and groans, and ſnuffling through the noſe. In the merry days of King Charles the ſecond, Nonſenſe aſſumed a more gay and libertine air; and her progeny, from fanatics, became downright infidels. Several courtiers of the family wrote lewd plays, as well as luſcious love-ſongs, and other looſe verſes, which were collected together and greedily bought up in miſcellanies. In the ſucceeding reign, ſome of the kindred, who had received their education at St. Omers, thought themſelves on the point of eſtabliſhing Nonſenſe in church and ſtate, and were preparing to make bonfires on the occaſion in Smithfield, when they were obliged to leave the kingdom.

Since

Since the Revolution, the field of Politics has afforded large ſcope for Nonſenſe and her family to make themſelves remarkable. Hence aroſe the various ſects in party, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Whig and Tory, Miniſterial and Jacobite, Sunderlandians, Oxfordians, Godolphinians, Bolingbrokians, Walpolians, Pelhamians, &c. &c. &c. names, which have kindled as hot a war in pamphlets and journals, as the Guelphs and Gibelines in Italy, or the Big and Little Endians in the kingdom of Lilliput. *Connoiſſeur*, N°. 118.

CHAP. III.

NOVELS.

Parallel between the ancient and modern; and the latter totally condemned as unfit for the peruſal of young Females.

WE conſider the general run of Novels as utterly unfit for you. Inſtruction they convey none. They paint ſcenes of pleaſure and paſſion altogether improper for you to behold, even with the mind's eye. Their deſcriptions are often looſe and luſcious in a high degree;

gree; their repreſentations of love between the ſexes are almoſt univerſally overſtrained. All is dotage, or deſpair; or elſe ranting ſwelled into burleſque. In ſhort, the majority of their lovers are either mere lunatics, or mock-heroes. A ſweet ſenſibility, a charming tenderneſs, a delightful anguiſh, exalted generoſity, heroic worth, and refinement of thought; how ſeldom are theſe beſt ingredients of virtuous love mixed with any judgment or care in the compoſition of their principal characters!

In the Old Romance the paſſion appeared with all its enthuſiaſm. But then it was the enthuſiaſm of honour; for love and honour were there the ſame. The men were ſincere, magnanimous, and noble; the women were patterns of chaſtity, dignity, and affection. They were only to be won by real heroes; and this title was founded in protecting, not in betraying, the ſex. The proper merit with them conſiſted in the diſplay of diſintereſted goodneſs, undaunted fortitude, and unalterable fidelity. The turn of thoſe books was influenced by the genius of the times in which they were compoſed; as that, on the other hand, was nouriſhed by them. The characters they drew were, no doubt, often heightened beyond nature; and the incidents they related, it is certain, were commonly blended with the moſt ridiculous extravagance. At preſent, however, I believe they may be read with perfect ſafety, if indeed there be any who chooſe to look into them.

The times in which we live are in no danger of adopting a ſyſtem of romantic virtue. The parents of the preſent generation, what with

ſelling

ſelling their ſons and daughters in marriage, and what with teaching them by every poſſible means the glorious principles of Avarice, have contrived pretty effectually to bring down from its former flights that idle, youthful, unprofitable paſſion, which has for its object perſonal attractions, in preference to all the wealth of the world. With the ſucceſsful endeavours of thoſe profoundly polite parents, the levity of diſſipation, the vanity of parade, and the fury of gaming, now ſo prevalent, have concurred to cure completely in the faſhionable of both ſexes any tendency to mutual fondneſs.

What has a modiſh young gentleman to do with thoſe antiquated notions of gallantry, that were connected with veneration for female excellence, invincible honour, and unſpotted fame? Is it not enough for him, if he intend to ſtrike the matrimonial bargain, that by himſelf, or an old cunning father, he can drive a good one, to get poſſeſſion of ſome woman, whoſe fortune joined to his own, if any he have, ſhall enable him to glitter in public, and in private to gratify other favourite inclinations more freely? Provided theſe grand points are gained, in the perſon he thus trafficks for to be the partner of his life, what ſignifies her appearance, her underſtanding, or her character? And thoſe Fine Ladies who ſeek conqueſt only for ſhow, too well inſtructed in the ſuperior conſequence of that to put any value on ſo ſimple a thing as a heart, merely for its own ſake; what elſe have they to mind but ſecuring, by whatever arts, ſuch ſettlements as ſhall place them, when married, on a level with their companions, or if poſſible above them, in the all-important articles

ticles of gaiety and ſplendor? As to men's hazarding any thing in the defence of girls who may take it into their heads to think of reputation, delicacy, ſentiment, and other ſuch exploded ideas; what can be ſo fooliſh?——although to hazard their lives in a drunken quarrel for a proſtitute might perhaps be brave!

That in ſo polite an age the elevations of love, the ſanctity of truth, and the majeſty of virtue, ſhould paſs for knight-errantry, cannot be ſurpriſing; nor is it any wonder, that the very beſt things, in the productions laſt mentioned, ſhould be no way intereſting to a modern reader, whoſe taſte and manners are formed on ſtandards far different. Some however may not be diſpleaſed to hear the opinion of no leſs a judge than Milton concerning them. It ſeems they were one of his early ſtudies, and that on a moral account. As his words to this purpoſe are remarkable, and not much known, I ſhall take the liberty to quote part of them. "I betook me among thoſe lofty fables and romances, which recount in ſolemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Chriſtendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he ſhould defend to the expence of his blood, or of his life, if it ſo befell him, the honour and chaſtity of virgin or matron. From whence even then I learnt, what a noble virtue chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the defence of which ſo many worthies by ſuch a dear adventure of themſelves had ſworn. And if I found in the ſtory afterwards any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judged it the ſame fault of the poet as that which is attri-

buted to Homer, to have written undecent things of the Gods. Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle ſpirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt ſpur, or the laying of a ſword upon his ſhoulder, to ſtir him up both by his counſel and his arm to ſecure and protect the weakneſs of any attempted chaſtity."

To come back to the ſpecies of writing which ſo many young women are apt to doat upon, the offspring of our preſent Noveliſts, I mean the greater part; with whom we may join the common herd of Play-writers. Beſide the remarks already made on the former, is it not manifeſt with reſpect to both, that ſuch books lead to a falſe taſte of life and happineſs; that they repreſent vices as frailties, and frailties as virtues; that they engender notions of love unſpeakably perverting and inflammatory; that they overlook in a great meaſure the fineſt part of the paſſion, which one would ſuſpect the authors had never experienced; that they turn it moſt commonly into an affair of wicked or of frivolous gallantry; that on many occaſions they take off from the worſt crimes committed in the proſecution of it, the horror which ought ever to follow them; on ſome occaſions actually reward thoſe very crimes, and almoſt on all leave the female readers with this perſuaſion at beſt, that it is their buſineſs to get huſbands at any rate, and by whatever means? Add to the account, that repentance for the fouleſt injuries which can be done the ſex, is generally repreſented as the pang, or rather the ſtart, of a moment; and holy wedlock converted into a ſponge, to wipe out at a ſingle ſtroke every ſtain

of

of guilt and diſhonour, which it was poſſible for the hero of the piece to contract.——Is this a kind of reading calculated to improve the principles, or preſerve the ſobriety, of female minds? How much are thoſe young women to be pitied, that have no wiſe parents or faithful tutors to direct them in relation to the books which are, or which are not, fit for them to read! How much are thoſe parents and tutors to be commended, who with particular ſolicitude watch over them in ſo important a concern! *Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women.*

CHAP. IV.

NOVELTY.

THE firſt and ſimpleſt emotion which we diſcover in the human mind, is curioſity. By curioſity, I mean whatever deſire we have for, or whatever pleaſure we take in, novelty. We ſee children perpetually running from place to place to hunt out ſomething new; they catch with great eagerneſs, and with very little choice, at whatever comes before them; their attention is engaged by every thing, becauſe every thing has, in the ſtage of life, the charm of novelty to recommend it. But as thoſe things which en-

gage us merely by their novelty, cannot attach us any length of time, curioſity is the moſt ſuperficial of all the affections; it changes its object perpetually; it has an appetite which is very ſharp, but very eaſily ſatisfied; and it has always an appearance of giddineſs, reſtleſſneſs and anxiety. Curioſity from its nature is a very active principle; it quickly runs over the greateſt part of its objects, and ſoon exhauſts the variety which is commonly to be met with in nature; the ſame things make frequent returns, and they return with leſs and leſs of any agreeable effect. In ſhort, the occurrences of life, by the time we come to know it a little, would be incapable of affecting the mind with any other ſenſations than thoſe of loathing and wearineſs, if many things were not adapted to affect the mind by means of other powers beſides novelty in them, and of other paſſions beſides curioſity in ourſelves. But whatever theſe powers are, or upon what principle ſoever they affect the mind, it is abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould not be exerted in thoſe things which a daily and vulgar uſe have brought into a ſtate of unaffecting familiarity. Some degree of novelty muſt be one of the materials in every inſtrument which works upon the mind; and curioſity blends itſelf more or leſs with all our paſſions. *Bourke on the Sublime and Beautiful.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

NUSANCE.

Nature of public Nuſances, and their remedies.

NUSANCE, *nocumentum*, or annoyance, ſignifies any thing that works hurt, inconvenience or damage. And nuſances are of two kinds; public or common nuſances which offend the publick, and are an annoyance to all the king's ſubjects; and private nuſances, which may be defined any thing done to the hurt or annoyance of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments of another. We will therefore, firſt, mark out the ſeveral kinds of nuſance, and then their reſpective remedies.

I. In diſcuſſing the ſeveral kinds of nuſances, we will conſider firſt ſuch nuſances as may affect a man's corporeal hereditaments, and then thoſe that may damage his incorporeal.

1. Firſt as to corporeal inheritances. If a man builds a houſe ſo cloſe to mine that his roof overhangs my roof, and throws the water off his roof upon mine, this is a nuſance, for which an action will lie. Likewiſe to erect a houſe or other building ſo near to mine, that it ſtops up my ancient lights and windows, is a nuſance of a ſimilar nature. But in this latter

caſe it is neceſſary, that the windows be ancient, that is have ſubſiſted there time out of mind; otherwiſe there is no injury done. For he hath as much right to build a new edifice upon his ground, as I have upon mine: ſince every man may do what he pleaſes with the upright or perpendicular of his own ſoil; and it was my folly to build ſo near another's ground. Alſo if a perſon keeps his hogs, or other noiſome animals, ſo near the houſe of another that the ſtench of them incommodes him, and makes the air unwholeſome, this is an injurious nuſance, as it tends to deprive him of the uſe and benefit of his houſe. A like injury is, if one's neighbour ſet up and exerciſes any offenſive trade; as a tanner's, a tallow-chandler's, or the like: for though theſe are lawful and neceſſary trades, yet they ſhould be exerciſed in remote places: for the rule is, "*ſic utere tuo, non alienum, non lædas*;" this therefore is an actionable nuſance. So that the nuſances which affect a man's dwelling may be reduced to theſe three: 1. Overhanging it, which is a ſpecies of treſpaſs, for *cujus eſt ſolum ejus eſt uſque ad cælum*: 2. Stopping the antient lights: and 3. Corrupting the air with noiſome ſmells: for light and air are two indiſpenſible requiſites to every dwelling. But depriving one of a mere matter of pleaſure, as of a fine proſpect, of building a wall, or the like; this, as it abridges nothing really convenient or neceſſary, is no injury to the ſufferer, and is therefore not an actionable nuſance.

As to nuſances to one's lands; if one erects a ſmelting-houſe for lead ſo near the land of another, that the vapour and ſmoke kills his corn and graſs, and damages his cattle therein, this

this is held to be a nuſance. And by conſequence it follows, that if one does any other act, in itſelf lawful, which yet being done in that place neceſſarily tends to the damage of another's property, it is a nuſance: for it is incumbent on him to find ſome other place to do that act, where it will be leſs offenſive. So alſo if my neighbour ought to ſcour a ditch and does not, whereby my land is overflowed, this is an actionable nuſance.

With regard to other corporeal hereditaments: it is a nuſance to ſtop or divert water that uſed to run to another's meadow or mill; to corrupt or poiſon a water-courſe, by erecting a dye-houſe or a lime-pit for the uſe of trade, in the upper part of the ſtream; or, in ſhort, to do any act therein, that, in its conſequences, muſt neceſſarily tend to the prejudice of one's neighbour. So cloſely does the law of England enforce that excellent rule of goſpel morality, of "doing to others, as we would they ſhould do unto ourſelves."

2. As to incorporeal hereditaments, the law carries itſelf with the ſame equity. If I have a way annexed to my eſtate acroſs another's land, and he obſtructs me in the uſe of it, either by totally ſtopping it, or putting logs acroſs it, or ploughing over it, it is a nuſance: for in that caſe I cannot enjoy my right at all, and in the latter I cannot enjoy it ſo commodiouſly as I ought. Alſo if I am entitled to hold a fair or a market, and another perſon ſets up a fair or a market ſo near mine that it does me a prejudice, it is a nuſance to freehold which I have in my market or fair. But in order to make this out to be a nuſance, it is neceſſary, 1. That my

market or fair be the elder, otherwiſe the nuſance lies at my door. 2. That the market be erected within the third part of twenty miles from mine. For Sir Mathew Hale conſtrues the *dieta*, or reaſonable day's journey, mentioned by Bracton, to be twenty miles: as indeed it is uſually underſtood not only in our own laws, but alſo in the civil, from which we probably borrow it. So that if the new market be not within ſeven miles of the old one it is no nuſance: for it is held reaſonable, that every man ſhould have a market within one third of a day's journey from his own home; that, the day being divided into three parts, he may ſpend one in going, another in returning, and the third in tranſacting his neceſſary buſineſs there. If ſuch market or fair be of the ſame day with mine, it is *prima facie* a nuſance to mine, and there needs no proof of it, but the law will intend it to be ſo: but if it be on any other day, it may be a nuſance, though whether it is ſo or not cannot be intended or preſumed; but I muſt make proof of it to the jury. If a ferry is erected on a river, ſo near another antient ferry as to draw away its cuſtom, it is a nuſance to the owner of the old one. For where there is a ferry by preſcription, the owner is bound to keep it always in repair and readineſs, for the eaſe of all the king's ſubjects; otherwiſe he may be grievouſly amerced: it would be therefore extremely hard if the new ferry were ſuffered to ſhare his profits, which does not alſo ſhare in his burden. But where the reaſon ceaſes, the law alſo ceaſes with it: therefore it is no nuſance to erect a mill ſo near mine, as to draw away the cuſtom, unleſs the miller alſo intercepts

cepts the water. Neither is it a nuſance to ſet up a trade or a ſchool, in neighbourhood or rivalſhip with another: for by ſuch emulation the public are like to be gainers; and if the new mill or ſchool occaſion a damage to the old one, it is *damnum abſque injuria*.

II. Let us next attend to the remedies, which the law has given to this injury of nuſance. And here I muſt premiſe that the law gives no *private* remedy for any thing but a *private* wrong. Therefore no *action* lies for a public or common nuſance, but an indictment only: becauſe the damage being common to all the king's ſubjects, no *one* can aſſign his particular proportion of it; or, if he could, it would be extremely hard, if every ſubject in the kingdom were allowed to harraſs the offender with ſeparate actions. For this reaſon, no perſon natural or corporate can have an action for a public nuſance, or puniſh it, but only the king in his public capacity of ſupreme governor, and *pater-familias* of the kingdom. Yet this rule admits of one exception; where a private perſon ſuffers ſome extraordinary damage, beyond the reſt of the king's ſubjects, by a public nuſance: in which caſe he ſhall have a private ſatisfaction by action. As if by means of a ditch dug acroſs a public way, which is a common nuſance, a man or his horſe ſuffer any injury by falling therein there; for this particular damage, which is not common to others, the party ſhall have his action. Alſo if a man hath abated or removed a nuſance that offended him, which the injured perſon hath a right to do, in this caſe he is entitled to no action. For he had choice of two remedies; either without ſuit, by abating himſelf,

ſelf, by his own mere act and authority; or by ſuit, in which he may both recover damages, and remove it by the aid of the law: but having made his election of one remedy, he is totally precluded from the other.

The remedies by ſuit are; 1. By action *on the caſe* for damages; in which the party injured ſhall only recover a ſatisfaction for the injury ſuſtained, but cannot thereby remove the nuſance. Indeed every continuance of a nuſance is held to be a freſh one; and therefore a freſh action will lie, and very exemplary damages will probably be given, if, after one verdict againſt him, the defendant has the hardineſs to continue it. Yet the founders of the laws of England did not rely upon probabilities merely, in order to give relief to the injured. They have, therefore, provided two other actions; the *aſſiſe of nuſance*, and the writ of *quod permittat proſternere*; which not only give the plaintiff ſatisfaction for his injury paſt, but alſo ſtrike at the root, and remove the cauſe itſelf, the nuſance that occaſioned the injury. Theſe two actions, however, can only be brought by the tenant of the freehold; ſo that a leſſee for years is confined to his action upon the caſe.

2. An *aſſize of nuſance* is a writ, wherein it is ſtated that the party injured complains of ſome particular fact done, *ad nocumentum liberi tenementi ſui*; and therefore commanding the ſheriff to ſummon an aſſiſe, that is, a jury, and view the premiſes, and have them at the next commiſſion of aſſiſes, that juſtice may be done therein: and, if the aſſiſe is found for the plaintiff, he ſhall have judgment of two things: 1. To have the nuſance abated; and 2. To recover

ver damages. Formerly an aſſiſe of nuſance only lay againſt the very wrong-doer himſelf, who levied, or did the nuſance; and did not lie againſt any perſon to whom he had alienated the tenements, whereon the nuſance was ſituated. This was the immediate reaſon for making that equitable proviſion in the ſtatute, Weſtm. 2. 13. Edward I. c. 24, for granting a ſimilar writ, *in caſu conſimili*, where no former precedent was to be found. The ſtatute enacts, that *de caetero non recedant querentes a curia domini regis, pro eo quod tenementum transfertur de uno in alium*; and then gives the form of a new writ in this caſe: which only differs from the old one in, that, where the aſſiſe is brought againſt the very perſon only who levied the nuſance, it is ſaid, "*Quòd A* (the wrong-doer) *injuſtè levavit tale nocumentum*;" but where the lands are alienated to another perſon, the complaint is againſt both, "*Quod A* (the wrong-doer) *et B* (the alienee) *levaverunt.*" For every continuation, as was before ſaid, is a freſh nuſance; and therefore the complaint is as well grounded againſt the alienee who continues it, as againſt the alienor who firſt levied it.

3. Before this ſtatute, the party injured, upon any alienation of the land wherein the nuſance was ſet up, was driven to his *quod permittat proſternere*; which is in the nature of a writ of right, and therefore ſubject to greater delays. This is a writ commanding the defendant to permit the plaintiff to abate, *quod permittat proſternere*, the nuſance complained of; and, unleſs he alſo permits, to ſummon him to appear in court, and ſhew cauſe why he will not. And this writ lies as well for the alienee of the party firſt in-

jured, as againſt the alienee of the party firſt injuring; as has been determined by all the judges. And the plaintiff ſhall have judgment herein to abate the nuſance, and to recover damages againſt the defendant.

Both theſe actions of *aſſiſe of nuſance*, and of *quod permittat proſternere*, are now out of uſe, and have given way to the action on the caſe; in which, as was before obſerved, no judgment can be had to abate the nuſance, but only to recover damages. Yet, as therein it is not neceſſary that the freehold ſhould be in the plaintiff and defendant reſpectively, as it muſt be in theſe real actions, but it is maintainable by one that hath poſſeſſion only, againſt another that hath like poſſeſſion, the proceſs is therefore eaſier: and the effect will be much the ſame, unleſs a man has a very obſtinate, as well as ill-natured neighbour; who had rather continue to pay damages, than remove his nuſance. For in ſuch caſe recourſe muſt be had to the old and ſure remedies, which will effectually conquer the defendant's perverſeneſs, by ſending the ſheriff with his *poſſe comitatus*, or power of the county, to level it.

Mr. Blackſtone's Commentaries, Book III.

BOOK

BOOK XIV.

CHAP. I.

OBSCURITY.

Sometimes neceſſary and judicious in writings.

TO make any thing very terrible, obſcurity ſeems in general to be neceſſary. When we ſee the full extent of any danger, when we can accuſtom our eyes to it, a great deal of the apprehenſion vaniſhes. Every one will be ſenſible of this, who conſiders how greatly night adds to our dread, in all caſes of danger, and how much the notions of ghoſts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas, affect minds, which give credit to the popular tales concerning ſuch ſorts of beings.

Thoſe deſpotic governments which are founded on the paſſions of men, and principally upon the paſſion of fear, keep their chief as much as may be from the public eye. The policy has been the ſame in many caſes of religion. Almoſt all the heathen temples were dark. Even in the barbarous temples of the Americans at this day, they keep their idol in a dark part of the hut, which is conſecrated to his

his worſhip. For this purpoſe too the Druids performed all their ceremonies in the boſom of the darkeſt woods, and in the ſhade of the oldeſt and moſt ſpreading oaks. No perſon ſeems to have underſtood the ſecret of heightening or of ſetting terrible things, if I may uſe the expreſſion, in their ſtrongeſt light by the force of a judicious obſcurity, than Milton. His deſcription of Death in the ſecond book is admirably ſtudied; it is aſtoniſhing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a ſignificant and expreſſive uncertainty of ſtrokes and colouring he has finiſhed the portrait of the King of terrors.

The other ſhape,
If ſhape it might be called that ſhape had none,
Diſtinguiſhable, in member, joint, or limb;
Or ſubſtance might be called that ſhadow ſeemed,
For each ſeemed either; black he ſtood as night;
Fierce as ten furies; terrible as hell;
And ſhook a deadly dart. What ſeemed his head
The likeneſs of a kingly crown had on.

In this deſcription all is dark, uncertain, confuſed, terrible, and ſublime to the laſt degree. *Bourke on the Sublime.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OECONOMY.

Want of it no mark of genius.

THE indigence of authors, and particularly of poets, has long been the object of lamentation and ridicule, of compaſſion and contempt.

It has been obſerved, that not one favourite of the Muſes has ever been able to build a houſe ſince the days of Amphion, whoſe art it would be fortunate for them if they poſſeſſed; and that the greateſt puniſhment that can poſſibly be inflicted on them, is to oblige them to ſup in their own lodgings,

———*Molles ubi reddunt ova columbæ,*
Where pigeons lay their eggs.

Boileau introduces Damon, whoſe writings entertained and inſtructed the city and the court, as having paſſed the ſummer without a ſhirt, and the winter without a cloak; and reſolving at laſt to forſake Paris,

——— *où la vertu n'a plus ni feu ni lieu;*
Where ſhiv'ring worth no longer finds a home;
and to find out a retreat in ſome diſtant grotto,
D'où jamais ni l' Huiſſier, ni le Sergent n' approche;
Safe, where no critics damn, no duns moleſt.

POPE.

The

The rich comedian, ſays Bruyere, "lolling in his gilt chariot, beſpatters the face of Corneille walking a-foot:" and Juvenal remarks, that his cotemporary bards generally qualified themſelves by their diet to make excellent buſtos; that they were compelled ſometimes to hire lodgings at a baker's, in order to warm themſelves for nothing; and that it was the common fate of the fraternity,

Pallere & vinum toto neſcire Decembri,
——————— To pine,
Look pale, and all December taſte no wine.
DRYDEN.

Virgil himſelf is ſtrongly ſuſpected to have lain in the ſtreets, or on ſome Roman bulk, when he ſpeaks ſo feelingly of a rainy and tempeſtuous night in his well known epigram.

"There ought to be an hoſpital founded for decayed wits," ſaid a lively Frenchman, "and it might be called the Hoſpital of Incurables."

Few, perhaps, wander among the laurels of Parnaſſus, but who have reaſon ardently to wiſh and to exclaim with Eneas, tho' without that hero's good fortune,

Si nunc ſe nobis ille aureus arbore ramus,
Oſtendat nemore in tanto!
O! in this ample grove could I behold,
The tree that blooms with vegetable gold! PITT.

The patronage of Lælius and Scipio did not enable Terence to rent a houſe. Taſſo, in a humorous ſonnet addreſſed to his favourite cat, earneſtly entreats her to lend him the light of her eyes during his midnight ſtudies, not being himſelf

himſelf able to purchaſe a candle to write by. Dante the Homer of Italy, and Camoens of Portugal, were both baniſhed and impriſoned. Cervantes, perhaps the moſt original genius the world ever beheld, periſhed by want in the ſtreets of Madrid, as did our own Spencer at Dublin. And a writer little inferior to the Spaniard in the exquiſiteneſs of his humour and raillery, I mean Eraſmus, after tedious wanderings of many years from city to city, and from patron to patron, praiſed, and promiſed, and deceived by all, obtained no ſettlement but with his printer. "At laſt," ſays he in one of his epiſtles, "I ſhould have been advanced to a cardinalſhip, if there had not been a decree in my way, by which thoſe are excluded from this honour, whoſe income amounts not to three thouſand ducats."

I remember to have read a ſatire in Latin proſe, entitled, "A Poet hath bought a houſe." The Poet having purchaſed a houſe, the matter was immediately laid before the parliament of poets, aſſembled on that important occaſion, as a thing unheard-of, as a very bad precedent, and of moſt pernicious conſequence; and accordingly, a very ſevere ſentence was pronounced againſt the buyer. When the members came to give their votes, it appeared there was not a ſingle perſon in the aſſembly, who, through the favour of powerful patrons, or their own happy genius, was worth ſo much as to be proprietor of a houſe, either by inheritance or purchaſe: all of them neglecting their private fortunes, confeſſed and boaſted, that they lived in lodgings. The poet was, therefore, ordered

to

to ſell his houſe immediately, to buy wine with the money for their entertainment, in order to make ſome expiation for his enormous crime, and to teach him to live unſettled, and without care, like a true poet.

Such are the ridiculous, and ſuch the pitiable ſtories related, to expoſe the poverty of poets in different ages and nations; but which, I am inclined to think, are rather boundleſs exaggerations of ſatire and fancy, than the ſober reſult of experience, and the determination of truth and judgment: for the general poſition may be contradicted by numerous examples; and it may, perhaps, appear on reflection and examination, that the art is not chargeable with the faults and failings of its particular profeſſors; that it has no peculiar tendency to make men either rakes or ſpendthrifts; and that thoſe who are indigent poets would have been indigent merchants and mechanics.

The neglect of oeconomy, in which great geniuſes are ſuppoſed to have indulged themſelves, has unfortunately given ſo much authority and juſtification to careleſſneſs and extravagance, that many a minute rhymer has fallen into diſſipation and drunkenneſs, becauſe Butler and Otway lived and died in an alehouſe. As a certain blockhead wore his gown on one ſhoulder to mimic the negligence of Sir Thomas More, ſo theſe ſervile imitators follow their maſters in all that diſgraced them; contract immoderate debts, becauſe Dryden died inſolvent; and neglect to change their linnen, becauſe Smith was a ſloven. "If I ſhould happen to look pale," ſays Horace, "all the hackney writers in Rome would

would immediately drink cummin to gain the ſame complexion." And I myſelf am acquainted with a witling who uſes a glaſs only becauſe Pope was near-ſighted. *Adventurer.*

CHAP. IV.

OPERAS,

Ridiculed, in a Perſian letter.

THE firſt objects of a ſtranger's curioſity are the Public Spectacles. I was carried laſt night to one they call an Opera, which is a concert of Muſic brought from Italy, and in every reſpect foreign to this country. It was performed in a chamber as magnificent as the reſplendent palace of our emperor, and as full of handſome women as his Seraglio. They had no Eunuchs among them; but there was one who ſung upon the ſtage, and, by the luxurious tenderneſs of his airs, ſeemed fitter to make them wanton, than keep them chaſte.

Inſtead of the habit proper to ſuch creatures, he wore a ſuit of armour, and called himſelf Julius Cæſar.

I aſked who Julius Cæſar was, and whether he had been famous for ſinging? They told me he

he was a warrior that had conquered all the world, and debauched half the women in Rome.

I was going to expreſs my admiration at ſeeing him ſo repreſented, when I heard two ladies, who ſat nigh me, cry out, as it were in an exſtacy, "O that dear creature! I am dying for love of him."

At the ſame time I heard a gentleman ſay aloud, that both the muſic and ſinging were deteſtable.

"You muſt not mind him, ſaid my friend, he is of the other party, and comes here only as a ſpy."

"How! ſaid I, have you parties in muſic?" "Yes, replied he, it is a rule with us to judge of nothing by our ſenſes and underſtanding, but to hear, and ſee, and think, only as we chance to be differently engaged."

"I hope, ſaid I, that a ſtranger may be neutral in theſe diviſions: and to ſay the truth, your muſic is very far from inflaming me to a ſpirit of faction; it is much more likely to lay me aſleep. Ours in Perſia ſets us all a-dancing; but I am quite unmoved with this."

"Do but fancy it moving, returned my friend, and you will ſoon be moved as much as others. It is a trick you may learn when you will, with a little pains: we have moſt of us learnt it in our turns." *Lord Lyttelton.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OSTENTATION.

TRYPHERUS is a man remarkable for elegance and expence; a man, that having been originally placed by his fortune and rank in the firſt claſs of the community, has acquired that air of dignity, and that readineſs in the exchange of compliments, which courts, balls, and levees eaſily conſer.

But Trypherus, without any ſettled purpoſes of malignity, partly by his ignorance of human nature, and partly by the habit of contemplating with great ſatisfaction his own grandeur and riches, is hourly giving diſguſt to thoſe whom chance or expectation ſubject to his vanity.

To a man whoſe fortune confines him to a ſmall houſe, he declaims upon the pleaſure of ſpacious apartments, and the convenience of changing his lodging-room in different parts of the year; tells him that he hates confinement; and concludes, that if his chamber was leſs, he ſhould never wake without thinking of a priſon.

To Eucrates, a man of birth equal to himſelf, but of much leſs eſtate, he ſhewed his ſervices of plate, and remarked that ſuch things were, indeed, nothing better than coſtly trifles, but that no man muſt pretend to the rank of a gentleman without them; and that, for his part, if his eſtate was ſmaller, he ſhould not think

think of enjoying but encreaſing it, and would enquire out a trade for his eldeſt ſon.

He has, in imitation of ſome more acute obſerver than himſelf, collected a great many ſhifts and artifices by which poverty is concealed; and among ladies of ſmall fortune, never fails to talk of frippery and ſlight ſilks, and the convenience of a general mourning.

I have been inſulted a thouſand times with a catalogue of his pictures, his jewels, and his rarities, which he knows ill ſuit the humble neatneſs of my habitation; he ſeldom fails to conclude by a declaration, that whenever he ſees a houſe meanly furniſhed, he deſpiſes the owner's taſte, or pities his poverty.

This, Mr. Rambler, is the practice of Trypherus, by which he is become the terror of all who are leſs wealthy than himſelf, and has raiſed innumerable enemies without rivalry and without malevolence.

Yet though all are not equally culpable with Trypherus, it is ſcarcely poſſible to find any man who does not frequently, like him, indulge his own pride by forcing others into a compariſon with himſelf, when he knows the advantage is on his ſide, without conſidering that unneceſſarily to obtrude unpleaſing ideas is a ſpecies of oppreſſion; and that it is little more criminal to deprive another of ſome real advantage, than to interrupt that forgetfulneſs of its abſence, which is the next happineſs to actual poſſeſſion. *Rambler.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OVERSEERS.

Their Original, Appointment, and Duty.

THE poor of England, till the time of Henry VIII. ſubſiſted entirely upon private benevolence, and the charity of well diſpoſed chriſtians. For though it appears by the Mirrour, that by the common law the poor were to be "ſuſtained by parſons, rectors of the church, and the pariſhioners; ſo that none of them die for default of ſuſtenance;" and though by the ſtatutes 12 Ric. II. c. 7. and 19 Hen. VII. c. 12. the poor are directed to be ſuſtained in the cities or towns wherein they were born, or ſuch wherein they had dwelt for three years (which ſeem to be the firſt rudiments of pariſh ſettlements), yet till the ſtatute 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26. I find no compulſory method chalked out for this purpoſe: but the poor ſeem to have been left to ſuch relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them. The monaſteries were, in particular, their principal reſource; and, among other bad effects which attended the monaſtic inſtitutions, it was not perhaps one of the leaſt (though frequently eſteemed quite otherwiſe) that they ſupported and fed a very numerous and very idle poor, whoſe ſuſtenance depended upon what was daily diſtributed in alms at the gates of the religious houſes. But, upon the total diſſolution

diſſolution of theſe, the inconvenience of thus encouraging the poor in habits of indolence and beggary was quickly felt throughout the kingdom: and abundance of ſtatutes were made in the reign of king Henry the eighth, for providing for the poor and impotent; which the preambles to ſome of them recite, had of late years ſtrangely increaſed. Theſe poor were principally of two ſorts: ſick and impotent, and therefore unable to work; idle and ſturdy, and therefore able, but not willing, to exerciſe any honeſt employment. To provide in ſome meaſure for both of theſe, in and about the metropolis, his ſon Edward the ſixth founded three royal hoſpitals; Chriſt's and St. Thomas's, for the relief of the impotent through infancy or ſickneſs; and Bridewell for the puniſhment and employment of the vigorous and idle. But theſe were far from being ſufficient for the care of the poor throughout the kingdom at large; and therefore, after many other fruitleſs experiments, by ſtatute 43 Eliz. c. 2. overſeers of the poor were appointed in every pariſh.

By virtue of the ſtatute laſt mentioned, theſe overſeers are to be nominated yearly in Eaſter-week, or within one month after, by two juſtices dwelling near the pariſh. They muſt be ſubſtantial houſeholders, and ſo expreſſed to be in the appointment of the juſtices.

Their office and duty, according to the ſame ſtatute, are principally theſe: firſt, to raiſe competent ſums for the neceſſary relief of the poor, impotent, old, blind, and ſuch other, being poor and not able to work; and, ſecondly,

ly, to provide work for ſuch as are able, and cannot otherwiſe get employment: but this latter part of their duty, which, according to the wiſe regulations of that ſalutary ſtatute, ſhould go hand in hand with the other, is now moſt ſhamefully neglected. However, for theſe joint purpoſes, they are empowered to make and levy rates upon the ſeveral inhabitants of the pariſh, by the ſame act of parliament; which has been farther explained and enforced by ſeveral ſubſequent ſtatutes.

The two great objects of this ſtatute ſeem to have been, 1. To relieve the poor, and them only. 2. To find employment for ſuch as are able to work: and this principally by providing ſtocks to be worked up at home, which perhaps might be more beneficial than accumulating all the poor in one common work-houſe; a practice which tends to deſtroy all domeſtic connexions (the only felicity of the honeſt and induſtrious labourer) and to put the ſober and diligent upon a level, in point of their earnings, with thoſe who are diſſolute and idle. Whereas, if none were to be relieved but thoſe who are incapable to get their livings, and that in proportion to their incapacity; if no children were to be removed from their parents, but ſuch as are brought up in rags and idleneſs; and if every poor man and his family were employed whenever they requeſted it, and were allowed the whole profits of their labour;—a ſpirit of chearful induſtry would ſoon diffuſe itſelf through every cottage; work would become eaſy and habitual, when abſolutely neceſſary to their daily ſubſiſtence; and the moſt indigent peaſant would go through his taſk

without a murmur, if aſſured that he and his children (when incapable of work through infancy, age, or infirmity) would then, and then only, be intitled to ſupport from his opulent neighbours.

This appears to have been the plan of the ſtatute of queen Elizabeth; in which the only defect was confining the management of the poor to ſmall, parochial, diſtricts; which are frequently incapable of furniſhing proper work, or providing an able director. However, the laborious poor were then at liberty to ſeek employment wherever it was to be had; none being obliged to reſide in the places of their ſettlement, but ſuch as were unable or unwilling to work; and thoſe places of ſettlement being only ſuch where they were born, or had made their abode, originally for three years, and afterwards (in the caſe of vagabonds) for one year only.

After the Reſtoration, a very different plan was adopted, which has rendered the employment of the poor more difficult, by authorizing the ſubdiviſion of pariſhes; has greatly increaſed their number, by confining them all to their reſpective diſtricts; has given birth to the intricacy of our poor-laws, by multiplying and rendering more eaſy the method of gaining ſettlements; and, in conſequence, has created an infinity of expenſive law-ſuits between contending neighbours, concerning thoſe ſettlements and removals. By the ſtatute 13 and 14 Cha. II. c. 12. a legal ſettlement was declared to be gained by birth, inhabitancy, apprenticeſhip, or ſervice for forty days; within which period all intruders were made removeable from

from any parish by two justices of the peace, unless they settle in a tenement of the annual value of 10l. The frauds, naturally consequent upon this provision, which gave a settlement by so short a residence, produced the statute 1 Jac. II. c. 17. which directed notice in writing to be delivered to the parish officers, before a settlement could be gained by such residence. Subsequent provisions allowed other circumstances of notoriety to be equivalent to such notice given; and those circumstances have from time to time been altered, enlarged, or restrained, whenever the experience of new inconveniences, arising daily from new regulations, suggested the necessity of a remedy. And the doctrine of certificates was invented, by way of counterpoise, to restrain a man and his family from acquiring a new settlement by any length of residence whatever, unless in two particular excepted cases; which makes parishes very cautious of giving such certificates, and of course confines the poor at home, where frequently no adequate employment can be had.

The law of settlements may be therefore now reduced to the following general heads; or, a settlement in a parish may be acquired, 1. By birth; which is always, prima facie, the place of settlement, until some other can be shewn. This is also always the place of settlement of a bastard child; for a bastard having, in the eye of the law, no father, cannot be referred to his settlement, as other children may. But, in legitimate children, though the place of birth be, prima facie, the settlement, yet it is not conclusively so; for there are, 2. Settle-

ments by parentage, being the ſettlement of one's father or mother: all children being really ſettled in the pariſh where their parents are ſettled, until they get a new ſettlement for themſelves. A new ſettlement may be acquired ſeveral ways; as, 3. By marriage. For a woman, marrying a man that is ſettled in another pariſh, changes her own: the law not permitting the ſeparation of huſband and wife. But if the man be a foreigner, and has no ſettlement, her's is ſuſpended during his life, if he be able to maintain her; but after his death ſhe may return again to her old ſettlement. The other methods of acquiring ſettlements in any pariſh are all reducible to this one, of forty days reſidence therein: but this forty days reſidence (which is conſtrued to be lodging or lying there) muſt not be by fraud, or ſtealth, or in any clandeſtine manner; but accompanied with one or other of the following concomitant circumſtances. The next method therefore of gaining a ſettlement, is, 4. By forty days reſidence, and notice. For if a ſtranger comes into a pariſh, and delivers notice in writing of his place of abode, and number of his family, to one of the overſeers (which muſt be read in the church and regiſtered) and reſides there unmoleſted for forty days after ſuch notice, he is legally ſettled thereby. For the law preſumes that ſuch a one at the time of notice is not likely to become chargeable, elſe he would not venture to give it; or that, in ſuch caſe, the pariſh would take care to remove him. But there are alſo other circumſtances equivalent to ſuch notice: therefore, 5. Renting for a year a tenement of the yearly value of ten pounds,

pounds, and reſiding forty days in the pariſh, gains a ſettlement without notice; upon the principle of having ſubſtance enough to gain credit for ſuch a houſe. 6. Being charged to and paying the public taxes and levies of the pariſh; and, 7. Executing any public parochial office for a whole year in the pariſh, as church-warden, &c. are both of them equivalent to notice, and gain a ſettlement, when coupled with a reſidence of forty days. 8. Being hired for a year, when unmarried, and ſerving a year in the ſame ſervice; and 9. Being bound apprentice for ſeven years; give the ſervant and apprentice a ſettlement, without notice, in that place wherein they ſerved the laſt forty days. This is meant to encourage application to trades, and going out to reputable ſervices. 10. Laſtly, the having an eſtate of one's own, and reſiding thereon forty days, however ſmall the value may be, in caſe it be acquired by act of law or of a third perſon, as by deſcent, gift, deviſe, &c. is a ſufficient ſettlement: but if a man acquire it by his own act, as by purchaſe, (in its popular ſenſe, in conſideration of money paid) then unleſs the conſideration advanced, bona fide, be thirty pounds, it is no ſettlement for any longer time, than the perſon ſhall inhabit thereon. He is in no caſe removeable from his own property; but he ſhall not, by any trifling or fraudulent purpoſe of his own, acquire a permanent and laſting ſettlement.

All perſons, not ſo ſettled, may be removed to their own pariſhes, on complaint of the overſeers, by two juſtices of the peace; if they

ſhall adjudge them likely to become chargeable to the pariſh, into which they have intruded: unleſs they are in a way of getting a legal ſettlement, as by having hired a houſe of ten pounds per annum, or living in an annual ſervice; for then they are not removeable. And in all other caſes, if the pariſh to which they belong, will grant them a certificate, acknowledging them to be their pariſhioners, they cannot be removed merely becauſe likely to become chargeable, but only when they become actually chargeable. But ſuch certificated perſons can gain no ſettlement by any of the means above-mentioned; unleſs by renting a tenement of ten pounds per annum, or by ſerving an annual office in the pariſh, being legally placed therein; neither can an apprentice or ſervant to ſuch certificated perſon gain a ſettlement by ſuch their ſervice.

Theſe are the general heads of the laws relating to the poor, which, by the reſolutions of the courts of juſtice thereon, within a century paſt, are branched into great variety. And yet, notwithſtanding the pains that has been taken about them, they ſtill remain very imperfect, and inadequate to the purpoſes they are deſigned for: a fate that has generally attended moſt of our ſtatute laws, where they have not the foundation of the common law to build on. When the ſhires, the hundreds, and the tithings, were kept in the ſame admirable order that they were diſpoſed in by the great Alfred, there were no perſons idle, conſequently none but the impotent that needed relief: and the ſtatute of 43 Eliz. ſeems entirely founded on the ſame principle. But when this excellent

excellent ſcheme was neglected and departed from, we cannot but obſerve with concern, what miſerable ſhifts and lame expedients have from time to time been adopted, in order to patch up the flaws occaſioned by this neglect. There is not a more neceſſary or more certain maxim in the frame and conſtitution of ſociety, than that every individual muſt contribute his ſhare, in order to the well-being of the community: and ſurely they muſt be deficient in ſound policy, who ſuffer one half of a pariſh to continue idle, diſſolute, and unemployed; and then form viſionary ſchemes, and at length are amazed to find, that the induſtry of the other half is not able to maintain the whole.

Dr. Blackſtone's Commentaries.

BOOK XV.

CHAP. I.

PAINTING.

Diſagreeable in Women.

A LADY's face, like the coat in the Tale of a Tub, if left alone, will wear well; but if you offer to load it with foreign ornaments, you deſtroy the original ground.

Among other matter of wonder on my firſt coming to town, I was much ſurpriſed at the general appearance of youth among the ladies. At preſent there is no diſtinction in their complexions between a beauty in her teens and a lady in her grand climacteric; yet at the ſame time I could not but take notice of the wonderful variety in the face of the ſame lady. I have known an olive beauty on Monday grow very ruddy and blooming on Tueſday; turn pale on Wedneſday; come round to the olive hue again on Thurſday; and in a word, change her complexion as often as her gown. I was amazed to find no old aunts in this town, except a few unfaſhionable people, whom no body knows; the reſt ſtill continuing in the zenith of their youth and health, and falling off, like timely fruit, without any previous decay. All this was a myſtery that I could not unriddle, till on being introduced to ſome ladies, I unluckily improved the hue of my lips at the expence of a fair one, who unthinkingly had turned her cheek; and found that my kiſſes were given (as is obſerved in the epigram), like thoſe of Pyramus, through a wall. I then diſcovered, that this ſurpriſing youth and beauty was all counterfeit; and that (as Hamlet ſays) "God had given them one face, and they had made themſelves another."

I have mentioned the accident of my carrying off half a lady's face by a ſalute, that your courtly dames may learn to put on their faces a little tighter; but as for my own daughters, while ſuch faſhions prevail, they ſhall ſtill remain in Yorkſhire. There, I think, they are pretty ſafe; for this unnatural faſhion will hardly make its way into the country, as this vamped complexion

complexion would not ſtand againſt the rays of the ſun, and would inevitably melt away in a country dance. The ladies have, indeed, been always the greateſt enemies to their own beauty, and ſeem to have a deſign againſt their own faces. At one time the whole countenance was eclipſed in a black velvet maſk; at another it was blotted with patches; and at preſent it is cruſted over with plaiſter of Paris. In thoſe battered belles who ſtill aim at conqueſt, this practice is in ſome ſort excuſable; but it is ſurely as ridiculous in a young lady to give up beauty for paint, as it would be to draw a good ſet of teeth merely to fill their places with a row of ivory.

Indeed, ſo common is this faſhion among the young as well as the old, that when I am in a groupe of beauties, I conſider them as ſo many pretty pictures; looking about me with as little emotion as I do at Hudſon's: and if any thing fills me with admiration, it is the judicious arrangement of the tints, and delicate touches of the painter. Art very often ſeems almoſt to vie with nature: but my attention is too frequently diverted by conſidering the texture and hue of the ſkin beneath; and the picture fails to charm, while my thoughts are engroſſed by the wood and canvaſs. *Connoiſſeur.*

CHAP. II.

PARLIAMENT.

Propoſals for a Female one.

IT has long been a matter of real concern to every well-wiſher to the fair ſex, that the men ſhould be allowed the free choice of repreſentatives, to whom they can make every real or pretended grievance known, while the women are deprived of the ſame privilege; when in reality they have many grievances utterly unknown and unthought of by the men, and which cannot be redreſſed but by a Female Parliament.

I do not, indeed, pretend to the honour of firſt projecting this ſcheme, ſince an aſſembly of this nature has been propoſed before: but as it appears to me ſo neceſſary, I would adviſe that writs be immediately iſſued for calling a Parliament of Women, which for the future ſhould aſſemble every winter, and be diſſolved every third year. My reaſon for ſhortening the time of their ſitting proceeds from the reflection, that full as much buſineſs will be done, at leaſt as many ſpeeches will be made, by women in three years, as by men in ſeven. To this aſſembly every county and city in England ſhall ſend two members; but from this privilege I would

would utterly exclude every borough, as we ſhall preſently ſee that they can have no buſineſs to tranſact there. But as I would have their number at leaſt equal to that of the other Parliament, the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied by the ſquares and great ſtreets at the court end of the town, each of which ſhould be repreſented by one of their own inhabitants. In humble imitation of the houſes of Lords and Commons, the ladies of peers (whether ſpiritual or temporal) ſhould ſit here in their own right, the others by election only; any woman to be qualified, whoſe huſband, or even whoſe father (for I would by no means exclude the unmarried ladies) is qualified to be choſen in the other. In the ſame manner, whatever entitles the huſband or father to vote at that election, ſhould entitle his wife or daughter to vote at this.

Having ſettled this point, it now remains to adjuſt the ſubjects which they are to treat of; and theſe we ſhall find to be, indeed, of the laſt importance. What think you, Sir, of the riſe and fall of faſhions, of as much conſequence to them as the riſe and fall of kingdoms is to us? of the commencing a new acquaintance, equivalent to our making a new alliance? and adjuſting the ceremonial of a route or a ball, as intereſting as the preliminaries of a treaty or congreſs? Theſe ſubjects, and theſe alone, will ſufficiently employ them every ſeſſions; and as their judgment muſt be final, how delightful will it be to have bills brought in to determine, how many inches of the leg or neck may lawfully be expoſed, how many curtſies at a public place amount to an acquaintance,

and what are the preciſe privileges of birth or fortune, that entitle the poſſeſſors to give routes or drums on week-days or on Sundays. Whoever ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs againſt theſe laws, might be puniſhed ſuitably to their offences; and be baniſhed from publick places, or condemned to do penance in linſey-woolſey: or if any female ſhould be convicted of immodeſty, ſhe might be out-lawed; and then (as theſe laws would not bind the nymphs of Drury) we ſhould eaſily diſtinguiſh a modeſt woman, as the phraſe is, if not by her looks, at leaſt by her dreſs and appearance; and the victorious Fanny might then be ſuffered to ſtrike bold ſtrokes without rivalry or imitation. If any man too ſhould be found ſo groſly offending againſt the laws of faſhion as to refuſe a member a bow at a play or a ſalute at a wedding, how ſuitably would he be puniſhed by being reprimanded on his knees in ſuch an aſſembly, and by ſo fine a woman as we may ſuppoſe the ſpeaker would be? Then doubtleſs would a grand committee ſit on the affair of hoops; and were they eſtabliſhed in their preſent form by proper authority, doors and boxes might be altered and enlarged accordingly. Then ſhould we talk as familiarly of the viſit bill as of the marriage bill; and with what pleaſure ſhould we peruſe the regulations of the committee of dreſs? Every lover of decorum would be pleaſed to hear, that refractory females were taken into cuſtody by the uſher of the black fan: the double return of a viſit would occaſion as many debates as the double return for a certain county; and at the eve of an election, how pretty would

it

it be to ſee the ladies of the ſhire going about, mounted on their white palfreys, and canvaſſing for votes?

Till this great purpoſe is attained, I ſee not how the viſible enormities in point of dreſs, and failures in point of ceremony, can effectually be prevented. But then, and not before, I ſhall hope to ſee politeneſs and good breeding diſtinguiſhed from formality and affectation, and dreſſes invented that will improve, not diminiſh the charms of the fair, and rather become than diſguiſe the wearers. *Connoiſſeur.*

CHAP. III.

PARTIALITY.

SECT. I.

Infects all nations and orders.

A Blackſmith was lately pleaſing himſelf at his anvil with obſerving, that, though his trade was hot and ſooty, laborious and unhealthy, yet he had the honour of living by his hammer, he got his bread like a man, and if his ſon ſhould riſe in the world, and keep his coach, no body could reproach him that his father was a taylor.

A man

A man truly zealous for his fraternity, is never ſo irreſiſtibly flattered, as when ſome rival calling is mentioned with contempt. Upon this principle a linen-draper boaſted that he got a new cuſtomer, whom he could ſafely truſt, for he could have no doubt of his honeſty, ſince it was known, from unqueſtionable authority, that he was now filing a bill in chancery to delay payment for the cloaths which he had worn the laſt ſeven years; and he himſelf had heard him declare, in a public coffee-houſe, that he looked upon the whole generation of woollen-drapers to be ſuch deſpicable wretches, that no gentleman ought to pay them till the demand was doubled by law charges.

It has been obſerved that phyſicians and lawyers are no friends to religion; and many conjectures have been formed to diſcover the reaſon of ſuch a combination between men who agree in nothing elſe, and who ſeem leſs to be affected, in their own provinces, by religious opinions, than any other part of the community. The truth is, very few of them have thought about religion; but they have all ſeen a parſon, ſeen him in a habit different from their own, and therefore declared war againſt him. A young ſtudent from the inns of court, who has often attacked the curate of his father's pariſh with ſuch arguments as his acquaintances could furniſh, and returned to town without ſucceſs, is now gone down with a reſolution to deſtroy him; for he has learned at laſt how to manage a prig; and if he pretends to hold him again to a ſyllogiſm, he has a catch in reſerve,

ſerve, which neither logic nor metaphyſics can reſiſt.

> I laugh to think how your unſhaken Cato
> Will look aghaſt, when unforeſeen deſtruction
> Pours in upon him thus.

The malignity of ſoldiers and ſailors againſt each other has been often experienced at the coſt of their country; and perhaps no orders of men have an enmity of more acrimony, or longer continuance. When, upon our late ſucceſſes at ſea, ſome new regulations were concerted for eſtabliſhing the rank of the naval commanders, a captain of foot very acutely remarked, that nothing was more abſurd than to give an honorary reward to ſeamen; "For honour, ſays he, ought only to be won by bravery, and all the world knows that there is no danger, and therefore no evidence of courage in a fight at ſea."

But as this general deſire of aggrandizing themſelves by raiſing their profeſſion, betrays men to a thouſand ridiculous and miſchievous acts of ſupplantation and detraction, ſo, as almoſt all paſſions have their good as well as bad effects, it likewiſe excites ingenuity, and ſometimes raiſes an honeſt and uſeful emulation of diligence. *Rambler.*

SECT.

SECT. II.

Partiality reigns even among the graveſt and moſt religious.

DO not we ſee every different party and aſſociation of men deſpiſing and deriding each other, according to their various manner of thought, ſpeech, and action? Does not the courtier deride the fox-hunter, and the fox-hunter the courtier? What is more ridiculous to a beau than a philoſopher; to a philoſopher than a beau? Drunkards are the jeſt of ſober men, and ſober men of Drunkards. Phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, prieſts, and Free-thinkers, are the ſtanding ſubjects of ridicule to one another. Wiſdom and folly, the virtuous and the vile, the learned and the ignorant, the temperate and debauched, all give and return the jeſt. According to the various impreſſions of fancy and affections, the aſpects of things are varied; and conſequently the ſame object, ſeen under theſe lights and attitudes, muſt in one mind produce approbation, in another contempt.

If we examine the conduct of political bodies or religious ſects, we ſhall find it of a ſimilar nature. Each of theſe rally every other, according to the prejudices they have imbibed in favour of their own ſyſtem. How contemptible and ridiculous are the European forms of government in the eyes of an Aſiatic *? And

* A Venetian was introduced to the king of Pegu. When this prince was informed by him, that the Venetians had no king, he laughed ſo exceſſively, that he loſt his breath, and could not ſpeak for a good while.

do not we, on this ſide the Helleſpont, repay them in their own kind? Are we a whit more united among ourſelves in our ideas of the ridiculous, when applied to modes of empire? What is more contemptible to an Engliſhman than ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to arbitrary will and lawleſs power, which prevails almoſt univerſally on the continent? And they are little acquainted with the ſtate of affairs abroad, who know not that, within the precincts of tyranny, Engliſh freedom is one of the commoneſt topics of raillery and ridicule: every man's judging for himſelf, is the ſubject of the Frenchman's drollery: one man's judging for all, is the ſubject of ours. The caſe is parallel with regard to religious tenets, where people are at liberty to ſpeak their thoughts. Is there any ſpecies of invective which the church of Rome hath not exerciſed upon all who have diſſented from its meaſures? And have not the divines of the Reformed churches been as arrant drolls, in vindication of their reſpective ſyſtems? What ribaldry and coarſe banter hath been thrown (nay rather what hath not been thrown) by the Free-thinkers on religion and chriſtianity? And how baſely have ſome of our divines proſtituted their pens in former days, by deſcending to the ſame dirty level? Even the ſourneſs of Puritaniſm, nay the ſullenneſs of Quakeriſm have ſometimes relaxed, and yie'ded themſelves up to the love of joking: and ſly hints in demure phraſe and ſober countenance have as plainly ſpoken their contempt of thoſe they pitied, as the loud laughter and grimace of worldly men, the diſdain of thoſe they profeſs to hate.

Brown's Eſſay.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

PARTIES.

SECT. I.

Generally diſtinguiſhed by being either perſonal or real.

FACTIONS or parties may be divided into perſonal and real; that is, into factions founded on perſonal friendſhip or animoſity among thoſe who compoſe the factions, and into thoſe founded on ſome real difference of ſentiment or intereſt. The reaſon of this diſtinction is obvious, though I muſt acknowledge that parties are ſeldom found pure and unmixed, either of the one kind or the other. 'Tis not often ſeen, that a government divides into factions, where there is no difference in the views of theſe factions, either real or apparent, trivial or material: and in thoſe factions which are founded on the moſt real and moſt material difference, there is always obſerved to be a great deal of perſonal animoſity or affection. But notwithſtanding this mixture, a party may be denominated either perſonal or real, according to that principle which is predominant, and is found to have the greateſt influence.

Perſonal factions ariſe moſt eaſily in ſmall republics. Every domeſtic quarrel becomes an affair of ſtate. Love, vanity, emulation, and paſſion beget public diviſion, as well as ambition and reſentment. The Neri and Bianchi of Florence, the Fregoſi and Adorni of Genoa,

noa, the Colonneſi and Orſini of modern Rome, were parties of this kind.

Men have ſuch a propenſity to divide into perſonal factions, that the ſmalleſt appearance of real difference will beget them. What can be imagined more trivial than the difference betwixt one colour of a livery and another in horſe-races? yet this difference begot two moſt inveterate factions in the Greek empire, the Praſini and Veneti, who never ſuſpended their animoſities, till they ruined that unhappy government.

We find in the Roman hiſtory a very remarkable faction betwixt two tribes, the Pollia and Papinia, which continued for the ſpace of near three hundred years, and diſcovered itſelf in their ſuffrages at every election of magiſtates. This faction was the more remarkable, that it could continue for ſo long a tract of time, even though it did not ſpread itſelf, nor draw any of the other tribes into a ſhare of the quarrel. If mankind had not a ſtrong propenſity to ſuch diviſions, the indifference of the reſt of the community muſt have ſuppreſſed this fooliſh animoſity, that had not any aliment of new benefits, and injuries of ſympathy and antipathy, which never fail to take place, when the whole ſtate is rent into two equal factions.

Nothing is more uſual than to ſee parties, which have begun upon a real difference, continue even after that difference is loſt. When men are once inliſted on oppoſite ſides, they contract an affection to the perſons with whom they are united, and an animoſity againſt their antagoniſts: and theſe paſſions they often tranſmit

mit to their poſterity. The real difference betwixt Guelf and Gibelline was long loſt in Italy, before theſe factions were extinguiſhed. The Guelfs adhered to the Pope, the Gibellines to the emperor; and yet the family of Sforza, who were in alliance with the emperor, though they were Guelfs, being expelled Milan by the king * of France, aſſiſted by Jacomo, Trivulzio and the Gibellines, the Pope concurred with the latter, and they formed leagues with the Pope againſt the emperor.

The civil wars which aroſe ſome few years ago in Morocco betwixt the Blacks and Whites, merely on account of their complexion, are founded on a very pleaſant difference. We laugh at them; but I believe, were things rightly examined, we afford much more occaſion of ridicule to the Moors. For pray, what are all the wars of religion, which have prevailed in this polite and knowing part of the world? They are, in my opinion, more abſurd than the Mooriſh civil wars. The difference of complexion is a ſenſible and real difference; but the difference about an article of faith, which is utterly abſurd and unintelligible, is not a difference of ſentiments, but only a difference of a few phraſes and expreſſions, which one party accepts of without underſtanding them, and the other refuſes in the ſame manner. Beſides, I do not find, that the Whites in Morocco ever impoſed on the Blacks any neceſſity of altering their complexion, or threatened them with inquiſitions and penal laws in caſe of obſtinacy: nor have the Blacks been

* Lewis XII.

more

more unreaſonable in this particular. But is a man's opinion, where he is able to form a real opinion, more at his diſpoſal than his complexion? And can one be induced by force or fear to do more than paint and diſguiſe in the one caſe as well as in the other.

Hume's Eſſays.

SECT. II.

The real characteriſtics of Whig and Tory.

WHEN we compare the parties of Whig and Tory to thoſe of Round-head and Cavalier, the moſt obvious difference which appears betwixt them, conſiſts in the principles of paſſive obedience and indefeaſible right, which were but little heard of among the Cavaliers, but became the univerſal doctrine, and were eſteemed the true characteriſtic of a Tory. Were theſe principles puſhed into their moſt obvious conſequences, they imply a formal renunciation of all our liberties, and an avowal of abſolute monarchy; ſince nothing can be a greater abſurdity than a limited power which muſt be reſiſted, even when it exceeds its limitations. But as the moſt rational principles are often but a weak counterpoiſe to paſſion; 'tis no wonder that theſe abſurd principles, ſufficient, according to a celebrated author, to ſhock the common ſenſe of a Hottentot or Samoiede, were found too weak for that effect. The Tories, as men, were enemies to oppreſſion; and alſo, as Engliſhmen, they were enemies to deſpotic power. Their zeal for liberty was, perhaps,

perhaps, leſs fervent than that of their antagoniſts; but was ſufficient to make them forget all their general principles, when they ſaw themſelves openly threatened with a ſubverſion of the ancient government. From theſe ſentiments aroſe the Revolution; an event of mighty conſequence, and the firmeſt foundation of Britiſh liberty. The conduct of the Tories during that event and after it, will afford us a true inſight into the nature of that party.

In the firſt place, They appear to have had the ſentiments of a True Briton in them in their affection to liberty, and in their determined reſolution not to ſacrifice it to any abſtract principles whatſoever, or to any imaginary rights of princes. This part of their character might juſtly have been doubted of before the Revolution, from the obvious tendency of their avowed principles, and from their almoſt unbounded compliances with a court, which made little ſecret of its arbitrary deſigns. The Revolution ſhewed them to have been in this reſpect, nothing but a genuine court party, ſuch as might be expected in a Britiſh government; that is, lovers of liberty, but greater lovers of monarchy. It muſt, however, be confeſt, that they carried their monarchical principles farther, even in practice, but more ſo in theory, than was, in any degree, conſiſtent with a limited government.

Secondly, Neither their principles nor affections concurred, entirely or heartily, with the ſettlement made at the Revolution, or with that which has ſince taken place. This part of their character may ſeem contradictory to the former, ſince any other ſettlement, in thoſe circumſtances

circumſtances of the nation, muſt probably have been dangerous, if not fatal to liberty. But the heart of man is made to reconcile contradictions; and this contradiction is not greater than that betwixt paſſive obedience, and the reſiſtance employed at the Revolution. A Tory, therefore, ſince the evolution, may be defined in a few words to be a lover of monarchy, tho' without abandoning liberty, and a partizan of the family of Stuart; as a Whig may be defined to be a lover of liberty, though without renouncing monarchy; and a friend to the ſettlement in the proteſtant line.

Hume's Eſſays.

CHAP. V.

PASSION.

Paſſionate men characteriſed.

THERE is in the world a certain claſs of mortals, known, and contentedly known, by the appellation of *paſſionate men*, who imagine themſelves entitled by that diſtinction to be provoked on every ſlight occaſion, and to vent their rage in vehement and fierce vociferations, in furious menaces and licentious reproaches.

Their

Their rage, indeed, for the moſt part, fumes away in outcries of injury, and proteſtations of vengeance, and ſeldom proceeds to actual violence, unleſs a drawer or link-boy falls in their way; but they interrupt the quiet of thoſe that happen to be within the reach of their clamours, obſtruct the courſe of converſation, and diſturb the enjoyment of ſociety.

Men of this kind are ſometimes not without underſtanding or virtue, and are, therefore, not always treated with the ſeverity which their neglect of the eaſe of all about them might juſtly provoke; they have obtained a kind of preſcription for their folly, and are conſidered by their companions as under a predominant influence that leaves them not maſters of their conduct or language, as acting without conſciouſneſs, and ruſhing into miſchief with a miſt before their eyes; they are therefore pitied rather than cenſured, and their ſallies are paſſed over as the involuntary blows of a man agitated by the ſpaſms of a convulſion.

It is ſurely not to be obſerved without indignation, that men may be found of minds mean enough to be ſatisfied with this treatment; wretches who are proud to obtain the privilege of madmen, and can, without ſhame, and without regret, conſider themſelves as receiving hourly pardons from their companions, and giving them continual opportunities of exerciſing their patience, and boaſting their clemency.

Pride is undoubtedly the original of anger; but pride, like every other paſſion, if it once breaks looſe from reaſon, counteracts its own purpoſes. A paſſionate man, upon the review of his day, will have very few gratifications to offer

offer to his pride, when he has conſidered how his outrages were cauſed, why they were borne, and in what they are likely to end at laſt.

Thoſe ſudden burſts of rage generally break out upon ſmall occaſions; for life, unhappy as it is, cannot ſupply great evils as frequently as the man of fire thinks it fit to be enraged; therefore the firſt reflection upon his violence muſt ſhow him that he is mean enough to be driven from his poſt by every petty incident, that he is the mere ſlave of caſualty, and that his reaſon and virtue are in the power of the wind.

One motive there is of theſe loud extravagancies, which a man is careful to conceal from others, and does not always diſcover to himſelf. He that finds knowledge narrow, and his arguments weak, and by conſequence his ſuffrage not much regarded, is ſometimes in hope of gaining that attention by his clamours, which he cannot otherwiſe obtain, and is pleaſed with remembering that at leaſt he made himſelf heard, that he had the power to interrupt thoſe whom he could not confute, and ſuſpend the deciſion which he could not guide.

Of this kind is the fury to which many men give way among their ſervants and domeſtics; they feel their own ignorance, they ſee their own inſignificance, and, therefore, they endeavour, by their fury, to fright away contempt from before them, when they know it muſt follow them behind, and think themſelves eminently maſters, when they ſee one folly tamely complied with, only leſt refuſal or delay ſhould provoke them to a greater.

Theſe temptations cannot but be owned to have ſome force. It is ſo little pleaſing to any man to ſee himſelf wholly overlooked in the maſs of things, that he may be allowed to try a few expedients for procuring ſome kind of ſupplemental dignity, and uſe ſome endeavour to add weight, by the violence of his temper, to the lightneſs of his other powers. But this has now been long practiſed, and found, upon the moſt exact eſtimate, not to produce advantages equal to its inconveniencies; for it appears not that a man can by uproar, tumult, and bluſter, alter any one's opinion of his underſtanding, or gain influence except over thoſe whom fortune or nature have made his dependents. He may, by a ſteady perſeverance in his ferocity, fright his children, and harraſs his ſervants, but the reſt of the world will look on and laugh; and he will have the comfort at laſt of thinking, that he lives only to raiſe contempt and hatred, emotions to which wiſdom and virtue would be always unwilling to give occaſion. He has contrived only to make thoſe fear him, whom every reaſonable being is endeavouring to endear by kindneſs, and muſt content himſelf with the pleaſure of a triumph obtained by trampling on them who could not reſiſt. He muſt perceive that the apprehenſion which his preſence cauſes is not the awe of his virtue, but the dread of his brutality, and that he has given up the felicity of being loved, without gaining the honour of being reverenced.

But this is not the only ill conſequence of the frequent indulgence of this bluſtering paſſion,

ſion, which a man, by often calling to his aſſiſtance, will teach, in a ſhort time, to intrude before the ſummons, to ruſh upon him with reſiſtleſs violence, and without any previous notice of its approach. He will find himſelf liable to be inflamed at the firſt touch of provocation, and unable to retain his reſentment, till he has a full conviction of the offence, to proportion his anger to the cauſe, or to regulate it by prudence, or by duty. When a man has once ſuffered his mind to be thus vitiated, he becomes one of the moſt hateful and unhappy of beings. He can give no ſecurity to himſelf that he ſhould not, at the next interview, alienate by ſome ſudden tranſport his deareſt friend; or break out, upon ſome ſlight contradiction, into ſuch terms of rudeneſs as can never be perfectly forgotten. Whoever converſes with him lives with the ſuſpicion and ſolicitude of a man that plays with a tame tiger, always under a neceſſity of watching the moment, in which the capricious ſavage ſhall begin to growl.

It is told by Prior, in a panegyric on the Duke of Dorſet, that his ſervants uſed to put themſelves in his way when he was angry, becauſe he was ſure to recompenſe them for any indignities which he made them ſuffer. This is the round of a paſſionate man's life; he contracts debts when he is furious, which his virtue, if he has virtue, obliges him to diſcharge at the return of reaſon. He ſpends his time in outrage and acknowledgement, injury and reparation. Or, if there be any who hardens himſelf in oppreſſion, and juſtifies the wrong, becauſe he has done it, his inſenſibility can make ſmall part of his praiſe, or his happineſs;

he only adds deliberate to haſty folly, aggravates petulance by contumacy, and deſtroys the only plea that he can offer for the tenderneſs and patience of mankind.

Yet, even this degree of depravity we may be content to pity, becauſe it ſeldom wants a puniſhment equal to its guilt. Nothing is more deſpicable or more miſerable than the old age of a paſſionate man. When the vigour of youth fails him, and his amuſements pall with frequent repetition, his occaſional rage ſinks by decay of ſtrength into peeviſhneſs; that peeviſhneſs, for want of novelty and variety, becomes habitual; the world falls off from around him, and he is left, as Homer expreſſes it, to devour his own heart in ſolitude and contempt. *Rambler.*

CHAP. VI.

PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

A doctrine not inculcated in Scripture.

TORIES and High-church-men have reviled and ridiculed their opponents for a licentious and abſurd application of the holy ſcripture phraſes; but no people have been more

more free with ſuch quotations, or have miſapplied them more groſsly. A ſtrong proof of this is their continued uſe of, and wreſting the text, "Render unto Cæſar the things that be Cæſar's," to a general obedience to the will of princes, whether that obedience is ordained by the laws of the country or not; or whether, by the general unalterable laws of ſocial compact, princes, by their ill conduct, have forfeited their title to ſuch obedience. The forementioned text has no other direct meaning than a general precept, founded on the common principles of juſtice, ſuch as, Give unto every one his due; and uſed at this time by Chriſt as a wiſe and cautious evaſion of the perſecution intended him by the Phariſees. The doctrine preached by Chriſt to his followers is of a different ſtamp than what the comments of time-ſerving prieſts have inferred from this their favourite text, "Render unto Cæſar, &c." Chriſt forbids his diſciples to admit in their governments the pride, the pomp, the deſpotiſm, that at this time prevailed in the heathen ſtates. "The kings of the Gentiles, ſays he, exerciſe lordſhip over them, and they that exerciſe authority upon them are called benefactors; but you ſhall not do ſo: but he that is the greateſt among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that ſerves." The doctrine of Chriſt aſſerted the equal rights of men: he not only recommended, but commanded his diſciples to preſerve that equality both in their civil and religious inſtitutions. The matchleſs Milton has obſerved, that no government comes nearer to this precept of Chriſt than a free Common-wealth, wherein they who are great-

eſt are perpetual ſervants and drudges to the public at their own coſt and charges, neglecting their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren, live ſoberly in their houſes, walk the ſtreets as other men, may be ſpoken with familiarly, without adoration. As the doctrines of Chriſt plainly inculcated the freeſt principles of civil and religious liberty, in oppoſition to the pride, pomp, and power of the Jewiſh prieſthood, he was oppoſed with acrimony; and at length, on the common accuſation of being a ſeditious diſturber of government, crucified by the intrigues of theſe ſpiritual tyrants, who imagining his zeal for juſtice would make him launch out into unſeaſonable invectives againſt the monſtrous abuſed power of the Cæſars, tempted him with that enſnaring queſtion, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæſar or not?" That this is the proper expoſition of this text, the very queſtion itſelf, with the introductory paſſage, evidently proves. "Then went the Phariſees, and took counſel how they might entangle him in his talk; and they ſent unto him their diſciples, with the Herodians, ſaying, Maſter, we know that thou art true, and teacheſt the ways of God in truth, neither careſt thou for any man, for thou regardeſt not the perſons of men; tell us, therefore, what thinkeſt thou, is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæſar or not?" Had the tendency of Chriſt's doctrine been that of paſſive obedience, would the Phariſees have thought this a proper queſtion to enſnare him? "Thou careſt not for any man, ſaid they, neither regardeſt thou the perſons of men (i. e. you pay no adulation to power); tell us, therefore, is it lawful to give tribute

tribute unto Cæſar or not?" The queſtion aſked is not, Whether the Jews, from obligations of conſcience, were bound to give tribute to Cæſar; but, Whether, having been a free and independant people, they could, without ſin, acknowledge the authority of Cæſar, and ſubmit to the Roman yoke? This they undoubtedly could do, becauſe there was, at this time, no probable, or hardly poſſible, means to free themſelves; therefore Chriſt, perceiving their wicked deſign, evaded the entering into the particulars of the caſe, and ſaid, "Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? (i. e. why do ye pretend ſcruples of conſcience to enſnare me?) ſhew me the tribute money. Then they brought unto him a penny. Whoſe image and ſuperſcription is it? (ſaid our Saviour) They ſaid unto him, Cæſar's. Then ſaid he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and unto God the things which are God's." Had the end of Chriſt's miſſion and doctrine been the eſtabliſhing of governments on the baſis of conſcience, could there have been a more favourable opportunity than was given him by this interrogation of the Phariſees, to have expatiated on the ſubject of obedience as a moral and religious duty? But this would have been a contradiction to the whole tenor of his doctrine, which evidently tended to emancipate his followers from the ſervile yoke and cuſtoms of the Gentiles, to aſſert the independency and free agency of man, and render him capable of attaining that ſublime degree of moral and religious virtue which he taught and practiſed; an example impoſſible to have been imitated, had his diſciples been bound by religious

obligations to have obeyed the ſottiſh commands of their Gentile governors. Had not Chriſt intended to evade acknowledging the authority of Cæſar, he might have given a ready anſwer to the queſtion, "Is it lawful, &c." by telling the Phariſees, that Cæſar was their ſupreme governor; that kings and emperors held their power by the particular will of God; that they were earthly repreſentatives of the majeſty of the Deity; that they were his vicegerents; and that, as ſuch, they were bound in conſcience to yield obedience. This doctrine, which has been maintained by modern divines, would from ſuch an authority have very ſufficiently enforced the precept of obedience to governors, whether for good or evil; but Chriſt, in his anſwer, carefully avoided confounding political and religious obligations, or uniting the circumſtance of giving tribute to Cæſar with the idea of religious duty. On being told that the image and ſuperſcription of the penny was Cæſar's, "Then, ſaid he, render therefore unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The tempters, diſappointed of their deſigns by this unexpected forbearance of our Saviour's, marvelled and went their way.

Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

PATIENCE.

SECT. I.

Its nature.

PATIENCE and ſubmiſſion are very carefully to be diſtinguiſhed from cowardice and indolence. We are not to repine, but we may lawfully ſtruggle; for the calamities of life, like the neceſſities of nature, are calls to labour, and exerciſes of diligence. When we feel any preſſure of diſtreſs, we are not to conclude that we can only obey the will of heaven by languiſhing under it, any more than when we perceive the pain of thirſt, we are to imagine that water is prohibited. Of misfortune it never can be certainly known, whether, as proceeding from the hand of God, it is an act of favour or puniſhment; but ſince all the ordinary diſpenſations of Providence are to be interpreted according to the general analogy of things, we may conclude, that we have a right to remove one inconvenience as well as another; that we are only to take care leſt we purchaſe eaſe with guilt; and that our Maker's purpoſe, whether of reward or ſeverity, will be anſwered by the labours which he lays under the neceſſity of performing.

This duty is not more difficult in any ſtate,

than in diſeaſes intenſely painful, which may indeed admit of ſuch exacerbation as ſeem to ſtrain the powers of life to their utmoſt ſtretch, and leave very little of the attention vacant to precept or reproof. In this ſtate the nature of man requires ſome indulgence, and every extravagance but impiety may be eaſily forgiven him. Yet, leſt we ſhould think ourſelves too ſoon entitled to the mournful privileges of irreſiſtable miſery, it is proper to reflect, that the utmoſt anguiſh which human wit can contrive, or human malice can inflict, has been born with conſtancy; and that if the pains of diſeaſe be, as I believe they are, ſometimes greater than thoſe of artificial torture, they are therefore in their own nature ſhorter: the vital frame is quickly broken, the union between ſoul and body is for a time ſuſpended, and we ſoon ceaſe to feel our maladies when they once become too violent to be born. I think there is ſome reaſon for queſtioning whether the body and mind are not ſo proportioned, that the one can bear all which can be inflicted on the other; whether virtue cannot ſtand its ground as long as life; and whether a ſoul well principled will not be ſeparated ſooner than ſubdued.

In calamities which operate chiefly on our paſſions, ſuch as diminution of fortune, loſs of friends, or declenſion of character, the chief danger of impatience is upon the firſt attack, and many expedients have been contrived, by which the blow may be broken. Of theſe the moſt general precept is, Not to take pleaſure in any thing, of which it is not in our power to ſecure the poſſeſſion to ourſelves.—This counſel, when we conſider the enjoyment of any

any terreſtrial advantage as oppoſite to a conſtant and habitual ſolicitude for future felicity, is undoubtedly juſt, and delivered by that authority which cannot be diſputed; but in any other ſenſe, is it not like advice, not to walk leſt we ſhould ſtumble, or not to ſee leſt our eyes ſhould light upon deformity? It ſeems to me reaſonable to enjoy bleſſings with confidence, as well as to loſe them with ſubmiſſion, and to hope for the continuance of good which we poſſeſs without inſolence or voluptuouſneſs, as for the reſtitution of that which we loſe without deſpondency or murmurs.

The chief ſecurity againſt the fruitleſs anguiſh of impatience, muſt ariſe from the frequent reflection on the wiſdom and goodneſs of the God of Nature, in whoſe hands are riches and poverty, honour and diſgrace, pleaſure and pain, and life and death. A ſettled conviction of the tendency of every thing to our good, and of the poſſibility of turning miſeries into happineſs, by receiving them rightly, will incline us to bleſs the name of our Lord, whether he gives or takes away. *Rambler.*

SECT. II.

Patience recommended.

THE darts of adverſe fortune are always levelled at our heads. Some reach us, and ſome fly to wound our neighbours. Let us therefore impoſe an equal temper on our minds, and pay without murmuring the tribute which we owe to humanity. The winter brings cold, and we

muſt freeze. The ſummer returns with heat, and we muſt melt. The inclemency of the air diſorders our health, and we muſt be ſick. Here we are expoſed to wild beaſts, and there to men more ſavage than the beaſts: and if we eſcape the inconveniences and dangers of the air and the earth, there are perils by water and perils by fire. This eſtabliſhed courſe of things it is not in our power to change; but it is in our power to aſſume ſuch a greatneſs of mind as becomes wiſe and virtuous men, as may enable us to encounter the accidents of life with fortitude, and to conform ourſelves to the order of Nature, who governs her great kingdom, the world, by continual mutations. Let us ſubmit to this order; let us be perſuaded that whatever does happen ought to happen, and never be ſo fooliſh as to expoſtulate with Nature. The beſt reſolution we can take is to ſuffer what we cannot alter, and to purſue without repining the road which Providence, who directs every thing, has marked to us: for it is enough to follow; and he is but a bad ſoldier who ſighs, and marches with reluctancy. We muſt receive the orders with ſpirit and chearfulneſs, and not endeavour to ſlink out of the poſt which is aſſigned us in this beautiful diſpoſition of things, whereof even ſufferings make a neceſſary part. Let us addreſs ourſelves to God who governs all, as Cleanthes did in thoſe admirable verſes,

Parent of nature! Maſter of the world!
Where-e'er thy Providence directs, behold
My ſteps with chearful reſignation turn.
Fate leads the willing, drags the backward on.
Why ſhould I grieve, when grieving I muſt bear;
Or take with guilt, what guiltleſs I might ſhare!

Thus

Thus let us ſpeak, and thus let us act. Reſignation to the will of God is true magnanimity. But the ſure mark of a puſillanimous and baſe ſpirit, is to ſtruggle againſt, to cenſure the order of Providence, and inſtead of mending our own conduct, to ſet up for correcting that of our Maker. *Bolingbroke.*

SECT. III.

Exemplified in the ſtory of an Aſs.

I Was juſt receiving the dernier compliments of Monſieur Le Blanc, for a pleaſant voyage down the Rhône——when I was ſtopped at the gate.——

'Twas by a poor aſs, who had juſt turned in with a couple of large panniers upon his back, to collect eleemoſinary turnip tops and cabbage leaves; and ſtood dubious, with his two fore-feet on the inſide of the threſhold, and with his two hinder feet towards the ſtreet, as not knowing very well whether he was to go in, or no.

Now, 'tis an animal (be in what hurry I may) I cannot bear to ſtrike——there is a patient endurance of ſufferings, wrote ſo unaffectedly in his looks and carriage, which pleads ſo mightily for him, that it always diſarms me; and to that degree, that I do not like to ſpeak unkindly to him: on the contrary, meet him where I will—whether in town or country—in cart or under panniers—whether in liberty or bondage——I have ever ſomething civil to ſay to him on my part; and as one word begets

begets another (if he has as little to do as I) —I generally fall into converſation with him; and ſurely never is my imagination ſo buſy as in framing his reſponſes from the etchings of his countenance—and where thoſe carry me not deep enough——in flying from my own heart into his, and ſeeing what is natural for an aſs to think—as well as a man, upon the occaſion. In truth, it is the only creature of all the claſſes of beings below me, with whom I can do this: for parrots, jackdaws, &c.——I never exchange a word with them——nor with the apes, &c. for pretty near the ſame reaſon; they act by rote, as the others ſpeak by it, and equally make me ſilent: nay my dog and my cat, though I value them both——(and for my dog, he would ſpeak if he could)—yet ſome how or other, they neither of them poſſeſs the talents for converſation—I can make nothing of a diſcourſe with them, beyond the propoſition, the reply, and rejoinder, which terminated my father's and my mother's converſations, in his beds of juſtice—and thoſe uttered—there's an end of the dialogue———

——But with an aſs, I can commune for ever.

Come Honeſty! ſaid I—ſeeing it was impracticable to paſs betwixt him and the gate—art thou for coming in, or going out?

The aſs twiſted his head round to look up the ſtreet——

Well—replied I—we'll wait a minute for thy driver.

———He turned his head thoughtful about, and looked wiſtfully the oppoſite way———

I under-

I underſtand thee perfectly; anſwered I—if thou takeſt a wrong ſtep in this affair, he will cudgel thee to death——Well! a minute is but a minute, and if it ſaves a fellow-creature a drubbing, it ſhall not be ſet down as ill-ſpent.

He was eating the ſtem of an artichoke as this diſcourſe went on, and in the little peeviſh contentions of nature betwixt hunger and unſavourineſs, had dropt it out of his mouth half a dozen times, and pick'd it up again—God help thee, Jack! ſaid I, thou haſt a bitter breakfaſt on't—and many a bitter day's labour—and many a bitter blow, I fear, for its wages—'tis all—all bitterneſs to thee, whatever life is to others.———And now thy mouth, if one knew the truth of it, is as bitter, I dare ſay, as ſoot—(for he had caſt aſide the ſtem) and thou haſt not a friend perhaps in all this world, that will give thee a macaroon.——— In ſaying this, I pull'd out a paper of them, which I had juſt purchaſed, and gave him one—and at this moment that I am telling it, my heart ſmites me, that there was more of pleaſantry in the conceit, of ſeeing how an aſs would eat a macaroon——than of benevolence in giving him one, which preſided in the act.

When the aſs had eaten his macaroon, I preſs'd him to come in—the poor beaſt was heavy loaded—his legs ſeem'd to tremble under him—he hung rather backwards, and as I pull'd at his halter, it broke ſhort in my hand—he look'd up penſive in my face—"Don't thraſh me with it—but if you will, you may"—If I do, ſaid I, I'll be d——d.

The word was but one half of it pronounced like

the abbeſs of Andoüillet's—(ſo there was no ſin in it)—when a perſon coming in, let fall a thundering baſtinado upon the poor devil's crupper, which put an end to the ceremony.

Out upon it!

cried I———but the interjection was equivocal ———and, I think, wrong placed too—for the end of an oſier which had ſtarted out from the contexture of the aſs's pannier, had caught hold of my breeches pocket as he ruſhed by me, and rent it in the moſt diſaſtrous direction you can imagine—ſo that the

Out upon it! in my opinion, ſhould have come in here.

CHAP. VIII.

PERSUASIONS.

The cauſes of their frequent proving fruitleſs, aſſigned.

THAT few things are ſo liberally beſtowed, or ſquandered with ſo little effect, as good advice, has been generally obſerved; and many ſage poſitions have been advanced concerning the reaſons of this complaint, and the means of removing it. It is indeed an important and noble enquiry, for little could be wanting to the happineſs of life, if every man could conform to the right as ſoon as he was ſhown it.

This perverſe neglect of the moſt ſalutary precepts,

precepts, and ſtubborn reſiſtance of the moſt pathetic perſuaſion, is uſually imputed to him by whom the counſel is received; and we often hear it mentioned as a ſign of hopeleſs and abandoned depravity, that though good advice was given, it has wrought no reformation.

Others who imagine themſelves to have quicker ſagacity and deeper penetration, have found out, that the inefficacy of advice is uſually the fault of the counſellor, and rules have been laid down, by which this important duty may be ſucceſsfully performed. We are directed by what tokens to diſcover the favourable moment at which the heart is diſpoſed for the operation of truth and reaſon, with what addreſs to adminiſter, and with what vehicles to diſguiſe *the cathartick of the ſoul.*

But, notwithſtanding the ſpecious expedient, we find the world yet in the ſame ſtate; advice is ſtill given, but ſtill received with diſguſt; nor has it appeared that the bitterneſs of the medicine has been yet abated, or its power encreaſed by any methods of preparing it.

If we conſider the manner in which thoſe who aſſume the office of directing the conduct of others execute their undertaking, it will not be very wonderful that their labours, however zealous or affectionate, are frequently uſeleſs. For what is the advice that is commonly given? A few general maxims, enforced with vehemence and inculcated with importunity, but failing for want of particular reference, and immediate application.

It is not often that any man can have ſo much knowledge of another, as is neceſſary to make

make inſtruction uſeful. We are ſometimes not ourſelves conſcious of the original motives of our actions, and when we know them, our firſt care is to hide them from the ſight of others, and often from thoſe moſt diligently, whoſe ſuperiority either of power or underſtanding may intitle them to inſpect our lives; it is therefore very probable that he who endeavours the cure of our intellectual maladies, miſtakes the cauſe, and his preſcriptions avail nothing, becauſe he knows not which of the paſſions or deſires is vitiated.

Advice, as it always gives a temporary appearance of ſuperiority, can never be very grateful, even when it is moſt neceſſary or moſt judicious. But for the ſame reaſon every one is eager to inſtruct his neighbours. To be wiſe or to be virtuous, is to buy dignity and importance at a high price; but when nothing is neceſſary to elevation but detection of the follies or the faults of others, no man is ſo inſenſible to the voice of fame as to linger on the ground.

——Tentanda via eſt qua me quoque poſſim
Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora.

Vanity is ſo frequently the apparent motive of advice, that we for the moſt part ſummon our powers to oppoſe it without any very accurate enquiry, whether it is right or not. It is ſufficient that another is growing great in his own eyes at our expence, and that he aſſumes an authority over us without our permiſſion; for many would be contented to ſuffer the conſequences of their own miſtakes, rather than the inſolence of him who triumphs as their deliverer.

It is, indeed, ſeldom found that any advantages are enjoyed with that moderation which the uncertainty of all human good ſo powerfully enforces; and therefore the adviſer may juſtly ſuſpect, that he has inflamed the oppoſition which he laments by arrogance and ſupercilioufneſs. He may ſuſpect, but needs not haſtily to condemn himſelf; for he can rarely be certain, that the ſofteſt language or moſt humble diffidence would have eſcaped reſentment; ſince ſcarcely any degree of circumſpection can prevent or obviate the rage with which the ſlothful, the impotent, and unſucceſsful, vent their diſcontent upon thoſe that excel them, endeavour to eclipſe the beauties which they cannot outſhine, and to retard the ſpeed which they cannot overtake. Modeſty itſelf, if it is praiſed, will be envied; and there are minds ſo impatient of inferiority, that their gratitude is a ſpecies of revenge, and they return benefits, not becauſe recompence is a pleaſure, but becauſe obligation is a pain.

The number of thoſe whom the love of themſelves has thus far corrupted, is perhaps not great; but there are few ſo free from vanity as not to dictate to thoſe who will hear their inſtructions with a viſible ſenſe of their own beneficence; and few to whom it is not unpleaſing to receive documents, however tenderly and cautiouſly delivered, or who are not willing to raiſe themſelves from pupillage, by diſputing the propoſitions of the teacher.

It was the maxim, I think, of Alphonſus of Arragon, "That dead counſellors are ſafeſt." The grave puts an end to flattery and artifice, and the information that we receive from books is pure from intereſt, fear, or ambition. Dead counſellors

counſellors are likewiſe moſt inſtructive, becauſe they are heard with patience and reverence. We are not unwilling to believe that man wiſer than ourſelves, from whoſe abilities we receive advantage, without any danger of rivalry or oppoſition, and who affords the light of his experience, without hurting our eyes by flaſhes of inſolence.

By the conſultation of books, whether of dead or living authors, many temptations to petulance and oppoſition, which occur in oral conferences, are avoided. An author cannot obtrude his advice unaſked, nor can he be often ſuſpected of any malignant intention to inſult his readers with his knowledge or with his wit. Yet ſo prevalent is the habit of comparing ourſelves with others, while they remain within the reach of our paſſions, that books are ſeldom read with complete impartiality, but by thoſe from whom the writer is placed at ſuch a diſtance that his life or death is indifferent.

We ſee that volumes may be peruſed, and peruſed with attention, to little effect; and that maxims of prudence, or principles of virtue, may be treaſured in the memory without influencing the conduct. Of the numbers that paſs their lives among books, very few read to be made wiſer or better, apply any general reproof of vice to themſelves, or try their own manners by axioms of juſtice. They purpoſe either to conſume thoſe hours for which they can find no other amuſement; to gain or preſerve that reſpect which the learned have always obtained; or to gratify their curioſity with knowledge, which, like treaſure buried or forgotten, is of no uſe to others or themſelves.

"The preacher (ſays a French author) may ſpend an hour in explaining and enforcing a precept of religion, without feeling any impreſſion from his own performance, becauſe he may have no farther deſign than to fill up his hour." A ſtudent may eaſily exhauſt his life in comparing divines and moraliſts, without any practical regard to morality or religion; he may be learning not to live but to reaſon; he may regard only the elegance of ſtyle, juſtneſs of argument, and accuracy of method; and may enable himſelf to criticiſe with judgment, and diſpute with ſubtilty, while the chief uſe of his volumes is unthought of, his mind is unaffected, and his life is unreformed.

But though truth and virtue are thus frequently defeated by pride, obſtinacy, or folly, we are not allowed to deſert them; for whoever can furniſh arms which they have not hitherto employed, may enable them to gain ſome hearts which would have reſiſted any other method of attack. Every man of genius has ſome arts of fixing the attention peculiar to himſelf, by which, honeſtly exerted, he may benefit mankind; for the arguments for purity of life fail of their due influence, not becauſe they have been conſidered and confuted, but becauſe they have been paſſed over without conſideration. To the poſition of Tully, That if virtue could be ſeen ſhe muſt be loved, may be added, That if Truth could be heard, ſhe muſt be obeyed.

Rambler.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

PHILOSOPHY.

Vain and partial.

THERE are many diſeaſes both of the body and mind, which it is far eaſier to prevent than to cure, and therefore I hope you will think me employed in an office not uſeleſs either to learning or virtue, if I deſcribe the ſymptoms of an intellectual malady, which, though it firſt ſeizes only the paſſions, will, if not ſpeedily remedied, infect the reaſon, and, from blaſting the bloſſoms of knowledge, proceed in time to canker the root.

I was born in the houſe of Diſcord. My parents were of unſuitable ages, contrary tempers, and different religions, and therefore employed the ſpirit and acuteneſs which nature had very liberally beſtowed upon both, in hourly diſputes, and inceſſant contrivances to detect each other in the wrong; ſo that from the firſt exertions of reaſon I was bred a diſputant, trained up in all the arts of domeſtick ſophiſtry, initiated in a thouſand low ſtratagems, nimble ſhifts, and ſly concealments; verſed in all the terms of altercation; and acquainted with the whole diſcipline of fending and proving.

It was neceſſarily my care to preſerve the kindneſs of both the controvertiſts, and therefore I had very early formed the habit of ſuſpending

pending my judgment, of hearing arguments with indifference, inclining as occaſion required to either ſide, and of holding myſelf undetermined between them, till I knew for what opinion I might conveniently declare.

Thus I acquired very early the ſkill of diſputation, and, as we naturally love the arts in which we believe ourſelves to excel, I did not let my abilities lie uſeleſs, nor ſuffer my dexterity to be loſt for want of practice. I engaged in perpetual wrangles with my ſchool-fellows, and was never to be convinced or repreſſed by any other arguments than blows, by which my antagoniſt commonly determined the controverſy, as I was, like the Roman orators, much more eminent for eloquence than courage.

At the univerſity I found my predominant ambition completely gratified by the ſtudy of logick. I impreſſed upon my memory a thouſand axioms, and ten thouſand diſtinctions, practiſed every form of ſyllogiſm, paſſed all my days in ſchools of diſputation, and ſlept every night with Smiglecius on my pillow.

You will not doubt but ſuch a genius was raiſed to eminence by ſuch application: I was celebrated in my third year for the moſt artful opponent that the univerſity could boaſt, and became the terror and the envy of all the candidates for philoſophical reputation.

My renown, indeed, was not purchaſed but at the price of all my time and all my ſtudies. I never ſpoke but to contradict, nor declaimed but in defence of a poſition univerſally acknowledged to be falſe, and therefore worthy, in my opinion, to be adorned with all the colours of falſe repreſentation, and

ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened with all the arts of fallacious ſubtilty.

My father, who had no other wiſh than to ſee his ſon richer than himſelf, eaſily concluded that I ſhould diſtinguiſh myſelf among the profeſſors of the law; and therefore, when I had with great honour taken my firſt degree, diſpatched me to the Temple, with a paternal admonition, that I ſhould never ſuffer myſelf to feel ſhame, for nothing but modeſty could retard my fortune.

Vitiated, ignorant, and heady as I was, I had not yet loſt my reverence for virtue, and therefore could not receive ſuch dictates without horror; but however was pleaſed with his determination of my courſe of life, becauſe he placed me in the way that leads ſooneſt from the preſcribed walks of diſcipline and education, to the open fields of liberty and choice.

I was now in the place where every one catches the contagion of vanity, and ſoon began to diſtinguiſh myſelf by ſophiſms and paradoxes. I declared war againſt all received opinions and eſtabliſhed rules, and levelled my batteries particularly againſt thoſe univerſal principles which have ſtood unſhaken in all the viciſſitudes of literature, and are conſidered as the unavoidable temples of Truth, or the impregnable bulwarks of Science.

I applied chiefly to thoſe parts of learning which have filled the world with doubt and perplexity, and could readily produce all the arguments to matter and motion, time and ſpace, identity and infinity.

I was equally able and equally willing to maintain the ſyſtem of Newton or Deſcartes, and

and favoured occaſionally the hypotheſis of Ptolomy, or that of Copernicus. I ſometimes exalted vegetables to ſenſe, and ſometimes degraded animals to mechaniſm.

Nor was I leſs inclined to weaken the credit of hiſtory, or perplex the doctrine of polity. I was always of the party which I heard the company condemn.

Among the zealots of liberty, I could harangue with great copiouſneſs upon the advantages of abſolute monarchy, the ſecrecy of its councils, and the expedition of its meaſures; and often celebrated the bleſſings produced by the extinction of parties, and preclufion of debates.

Among the aſſertors of regal authority, I never failed to declaim with republican warmth upon the original charter of univerſal liberty, the corruption of courts, and the folly of voluntary ſubmiſſion to thoſe whom nature has levelled with ourſelves.

I knew the defects of every ſcheme of government, and the inconveniencies of every law. I ſometimes ſhewed how much the condition of mankind would be improved by breaking the world into petty ſovereignties, and ſometimes diſplayed the felicity and peace which univerſal monarchy would diffuſe over the earth.

To every acknowledged fact I found innumerable objections; for it was my rule to judge of hiſtory only by reaſon, and therefore I made no ſcruple of bidding defiance to teſtimony. I have more than once queſtioned the exiſtence of Alexander the Great; and having demonſtrated the folly of erecting edifices like the pyramids of Egypt, I frequently hinted my ſuſ-

picion that the world had been long deceived, and that they were to be found only in the narratives of travellers.

It had been happy for me could I have confined my ſcepticiſm to hiſtorical controverſies, and philoſophical diſquiſitions; but having now violated my reaſon, and accuſtomed myſelf to enquire not after proofs, but objections, I had perplexed truth with falſhood till my ideas were confuſed, my judgment embarraſſed, and my intellects diſtorted. The habit of conſidering every propoſition as alike uncertain, left me no teſt by which any tenet could be tried; every opinion preſented both ſides with equal evidence, and my fallacies began to operate upon my own mind in more important enquiries. It was at laſt the ſport of my vanity to weaken the obligations of moral duty, and efface the diſtinctions of good and evil, till I had deadened the ſenſe of conviction, and abandoned my heart to fluctuations of uncertainty, without anchor and without compaſs, without ſatisfaction of curioſity or peace of conſcience, without principles of reaſon or motives of action.

Such is the hazard of repreſſing the firſt perceptions of truth, or ſpreading for diverſion the ſnares of ſophiſtry, and engaging reaſon againſt its own determinations.

The diſproportions of abſurdity grow leſs and leſs viſible, as we are reconciled by degrees to the deformity of a miſtreſs; and falſehood, by long uſe, is aſſimilated to the mind, as poiſon to the body.

I had ſoon the mortification of ſeeing my converſation courted only by the ignorant or wicked, by either boys who were enchanted by novelty,

novelty, or wretches who having long diſobeyed virtue and reaſon, were now deſirous of my aſſiſtance to dethrone them.

Thus alarmed, I ſhuddered at my own corruption, and that pride by which I had been ſeduced, contributed to reclaim me. I was weary of continual irreſolution, and a perpetual equipoiſe of the mind; and aſhamed of being the favourite of thoſe who were ſcorned and ſhunned by the reſt of mankind.

I therefore retired from all temptations to diſpute, preſcribed a new regimen to my underſtanding, and reſolved, inſtead of rejecting all eſtabliſhed opinions which I could not prove, to admit of all which I could not confute. I forbore to heat my imagination with needleſs controverſies, to diſcuſs queſtions confeſſedly uncertain, and refrained ſteadily from gratifying my vanity by the ſupport of falſehood.

By this method I am at length recovered from argumental delirium, and find myſelf in the ſtate of one awakened from the confuſion and tumult of a feveriſh dream; I rejoice in the new poſſeſſion of evidence and reality, and ſtep on from truth to truth with confidence and quiet.

Rambler.

CHAP. X.

PHYSIOGNOMY.

Always expreſſive of the paſſions and affections of the mind.

AS the heavens are made expreſſive of the glory of God, though frequently overcaſt with clouds and tempeſt, and ſometimes breaking forth in thunders that terrify, and lightnings that blaſt; ſo, that general tenour of a human countenance is made expreſſive of the nature of the ſoul that lives within; and to which it is ordained an involuntary interpreter.

Many perſons have made it the ſtudy of great part of their lives, to counteract Providence in this honeſt appointment; to ſhut this window, by which an impertinent world is ſo apt to peep in, and ſpy what they are about; and, as far as poſſible, to make the expreſſions of their countenance to belie every ſentiment and emotion of the heart.

But I am perſuaded there is not a ſingle ſentiment, whether tending to good or evil, in the human ſoul, that has not its diſtinct and reſpective interpreter in the glance of the eye, and in the muſcling of the countenance. When nature is permitted to expreſs herſelf with freedom by this language of the face, ſhe is underſtood by all people; for thoſe who never were taught a letter can inſtantly read her ſignatures and impreſſions;

preſſions; whether they be of wrath, hatred, envy, pride, jealouſy, vexation, contempt; pain, fear, horror, and diſmay; or of attention, reſpect, wonder, ſurprize, pleaſure, tranſport, complacence, affection, deſire, peace, lowlineſs, and love.

As I obſerved to ye before, that every affection of the human ſoul has its diſtinct and reſpective interpreter in the countenance; I am further to take notice, that each of thoſe many interpreters hath its reſpective ſet of tubes and fibres leading thereto, through which the blood and ſpirits flow, on their reſpective emotion. Thus, whatever the general tenour of a perſon's temper may be, ſuch as joyous or melancholy, iraſcible or placid, and ſo forth; the veſſels, relative to theſe affections, are kept open and full by an almoſt conſtant flow of the blood and animal ſpirits, and impreſs ſuch evident characters of that perſon's diſpoſition, as are not to be ſuppreſſed, except for a time, and that too by ſome powerful and oppoſite paſſion. For the muſcles ſo employed grow ſtronger and more conſpicuous by exerciſe; as we ſee the legs of a chairman, and the ſhoulders of a porter, derive bulk and diſtinction from the peculiarity of their occupation.

I will ſuppoſe a man to be naturally of a melancholy caſt of countenance; that he has the additional unhappineſs of a bilious conſtitution; and that he is confirmed in this look and habit of deſpondence by a train of diſtreſsful circumſtances, till he arrives at his twentieth or thirtieth year. I will then ſuppoſe that his habit of body, and temper of mind, are totally changed by medicine, a flow of ſucceſs, a happy turn of

reaſon and reſignation, or perhaps of complacence in the divine diſpenſations. He now grows ſociable, benevolent, chearful, always joyous when in company, and placid when alone. I aſk, on this occaſion, Will ye continue to ſee the ſame caſt and habit of melancholy in this man's countenance? No more than ye can ſee the gloom of laſt winter in the ſmiling ſerene of a ſummer's evening. For ſome time, I admit, it will be difficult for the ſet of joyous muſcles and glances to overpower their adverſaries who have ſo long kept the field; but, in the end, they muſt prevail; they will receive conſtant ſupplies from within; and the paſſages for their reinforcement will be opened more and more; while their opponents daily ſubſide, give place, and diſappear.

What I have obſerved with reſpect to melancholy, may be equally affirmed of any other affection, whoſe oppoſite gets an habitual empire in the mind. I ſay habitual, becauſe there are ſome perſons of ſuch variable and fluctuating tempers, now furious, now complacent; now churliſh, now generous; now mopingly melancholy, now merry to madneſs; now pious, now profane; now cruelly hard-hearted, now meltingly humane; that a man can no more judge of what nature or diſpoſition ſuch people are, than he can determine what wind ſhall predominate next April; and yet, when the wind blows, he can tell by every cloud and weather-cock, from what point it comes; and may as eaſily decypher the preſent temper by the aſpect.

But might not nature impreſs, as in the caſe of Socrates, ſuch conſpicuous characters of vice

(in

(in his peculiar caſt of countenance and ſtrong turn of muſcling) as no internal virtues ſhould be able to retract.

By no means. For if ſuch characters are impreſſed by nature on the countenance, independent of any ſuch characters in the mind, this would firſt overthrow the whole ſyſtem of the phyſiognomiſts, who judged of the mind by the countenance alone. And, ſecondly, it would overthrow the opinion of Socrates himſelf, who allowed that his countenance had received ſuch impreſſions from the natural bent and diſpoſition of his mind. But again, if the mind has really a power to impreſs her own character or likeneſs on the countenance, what ſhould take away this power? Why does ſhe not retain it? Why ſhould not a total change of character in the ſoul, make ſome ſuitable change of character in the aſpect? It does make a total change. And there are thouſands of faces in yonder ſanctified city, that once expreſſed all the ſweetneſs of baſhful modeſty, and yet are now as much hardened and bronzed over with impudence as the face of the ſtatue at Charing-Croſs.

In the ſoft and pliable features of infancy and youth, the mind can expreſs itſelf with much more force and perſpicuity, than in the features of people more advanced in years. The nerves and fibres, in our early age, are all open, active and animated; they reach to the outward ſurface of the ſkin; and the ſoul looks forth, and is ſeen through them, as a Spaniſh beauty is ſeen through a veil of gauze. But time deſtroys many of theſe intelligible fibres: it alſo obſtructs others, and it renders the remainder leſs

ſuſceptible of thoſe offices and mental impreſſions for which they were ordained, till the ſurface of the countenance grows ſo callous and rigid, that the beauties of the ſoul can no more be diſcovered through it, than the luminaries of heaven through an atmoſphere of clouds. Scarce any thing, ſave ſudden paſſion, can then be diſcernible, like flaſhes of lightning that break through the gloom. *Brookes's Fool of Quality.*

CHAP. XI.

PLAYERS.

SECT. I.

In a country town deſcribed.

THE Players, you muſt know, finding this a good town, had taken a leaſe the laſt ſummer of an old ſynagogue deſerted by the Jews; but the Mayor being a Preſbyterian refuſed to licence their exhibitions: however, when they were in the utmoſt deſpair, the ladies of the place joined in a petition to Mrs. Mayoreſs, who prevailed on her huſband to wink at their performances. The company immediately opened their ſynagogue theatre with the Merchant of Venice; and finding a Quack Doctor's Zany a droll fellow, they

they decoyed him into their ſervice; and he has ſince performed the part of the Mock Doctor with univerſal applauſe. Upon his revolt the doctor himſelf found it abſolutely neceſſary to enter of the company; and having a talent for tragedy, has performed with great ſucceſs the Apothecary in Romeo and Juliet.

The performers at our ruſtic theatre are far beyond thoſe paultry ſtrollers, who run about the country, and exhibit in a barn or a cow-houſe: for (as their bills declare) they are a company of Comedians from the Theatre Royal; and I aſſure you, they are as much applauded by our country critics, as any of your capital actors. The ſhops of our tradeſmen have been almoſt deſerted, and a croud of weavers and hardware-men have elbowed each other two hours before the opening of the doors, when the bills have informed us in enormous red letters, that the part of George Barnwell was to be performed by Mr. ———, at the particular deſire of ſeveral ladies of diſtinction. 'Tis true, indeed, that our principal actors have moſt of them had their education at Covent-garden, or Drury-lane; but they have been employed in the buſineſs of the drama in a degree but juſt above a ſcene-ſhifter. An heroine, to whom your managers in town (in envy to her riſing merit) ſcarce allotted the humble part of a confidante, now blubbers out Andromache or Belvidera; the attendants on a monarch ſtrut monarchs themſelves, mutes find their voices, and meſſage-bearers riſe into heroes. The humour of our beſt comedian conſiſts in ſhrugs and grimaces; he jokes in a wry mouth, and repartees in a grin; in ſhort, he practiſes on Congreve and Vanbrugh all thoſe

diſtortions which gained him ſo much applauſe from the galleries, in the drubs which he was condemned to undergo in pantomimes. I was vaſtly diverted at ſeeing a fellow in the character of Sir Harry Wildair, whoſe chief action was a continual preſſing together of the thumb and fore-finger, which, had he lifted them to his noſe, I ſhould have thought he deſigned as an imitation of taking ſnuff: but I could eaſily account for the cauſe of this ſingle geſture, when I diſcovered that Sir Harry was no leſs a perſon than the dexterous Mr. Clippit the candle-ſnuffer.

You would laugh to ſee how ſtrangely the parts of a play are caſt. They played Cato; and their Marcia was ſuch an old woman, that when Juba came on with his——"Hail! charming maid!"——the fellow could not help laughing. Another night I was ſurpriſed to hear an eager lover talk of ruſhing into his miſtreſs's arms, rioting on the nectar of her lips, and deſiring (in the tragedy rapture) to "hug her thus and thus for ever;" though he always took care to ſtand at a moſt ceremonious diſtance. But I was afterwards very much diverted at the cauſe of this extraordinary reſpect, when I was told that the lady laboured under the misfortune of an ulcer in her leg, which occaſioned ſuch a diſagreeable ſtench, that the performers were obliged to keep her at arms length. The entertainment was Lethe; and the part of the Frenchman was performed by a South Briton; who, as he could not pronounce a word of the French language, ſupplied its place by gabbling in his native Welch.

The

The decorations, or (in the theatrical dialect) the property of our company are as extraordinary as the performers. Othello raves about a checked handkerchief: the ghoſt in Hamlet ſtalks in a poſtilion's leathern-jacket for a coat of mail; and Cupid enters with a fiddle-caſe flung over his ſhoulders for a quiver. The Apothecary of the town is free of the houſe, for lending them a peſtle and morter to ſerve as the bell in Venice Preſerved: and a barber-ſurgeon has the ſame privilege, for furniſhing them with baſons of blood to beſmear the daggers in Macbeth. Macbeth himſelf carries a rolling-pin in his hand for a truncheon; and as the breaking of glaſſes would be very expenſive, he daſhes down a pewter pint-pot at the ſight of Banquo's ghoſt.

A fray happened here the other night, which was no ſmall diverſion to the audience. It ſeems there had been a great conteſt between two of thoſe mimic heroes, which was the fitteſt to play Richard the third. One of them was reckoned to have the better perſon, as he was very round-ſhouldered, and one of his legs was ſhorter than the other; but his antagoniſt carried the part, becauſe he ſtarted beſt in the Tent ſcene. However, when the curtain drew up, they both ruſhed in upon the ſtage at once; and bawling out together "Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths," they both went through the whole ſpeech without ſtopping.

Connoiſſeur.

SECT. II.

Players often miſtake one effect for another.

THE French have diſtinguiſhed the artifices made uſe of on the ſtage to deceive the audience, by the expreſſion of *jeu de Theatre*, which we may tranſlate, "the juggle of the Theatre." When theſe little arts are exerciſed merely to aſſiſt Nature, and ſet her off to the beſt advantage, none can be ſo critically nice as to object to them; but when tragedy by theſe means is lifted into rant, and comedy diſtorted into buffoonery, though the deceit may ſucceed with the multitude, men of ſenſe will always be offended at it. This conduct, whether of the poet or the player, reſembles in ſome ſort the poor contrivance of the antients, who mounted their heroes upon ſtilts, and expreſſed the manners of their characters by the groteſque figures of their maſks. *Connoiſſeur.*

CHAP. XII.

PLEASURE.

True pleaſure defined.

WE are affected with delightful ſenſations, when we ſee the inanimate parts of the creation, the meadows, flowers, and trees, in a flouriſhing ſtate. There muſt be ſome rooted melan-

melancholy at the heart, when all nature appears ſmiling about us, to hinder us from correſponding with the reſt of the creation, and joining in the univerſal chorus of joy. But if meadows and trees in their chearful verdure, if flowers in their bloom, and all the vegetable parts of the creation in their moſt advantageous dreſs, can inſpire gladneſs into the heart, and drive away all ſadneſs but deſpair; to ſee the rational creation happy and flouriſhing, ought to give us a pleaſure as much ſuperior, as the latter is to the former in the ſcale of beings. But the pleaſure is ſtill heightened, if we ourſelves have been inſtrumental in contributing to the happineſs of our fellow-creatures, if we have helped to raiſe an heart drooping beneath the weight of grief, and revived that barren and dry land, where no water was, with refreſhing ſhowers of love and kindneſs.

Seed's Sermons.

CHAP. XIII.

POLITENESS.

SECT. I.

How manifeſted.

TO correct ſuch groſs vices as lead us to commit a real injury to others, is the part of morals, and the object of the moſt ordinary

dinary education. Where that is not attended to, in ſome degree, no human ſociety can ſubſiſt. But in order to render converſation and the intercourſe of minds more eaſy and agreeable, good manners have been invented, and have carried the matter ſomewhat farther. Whereever nature has given the mind a propenſity to any vice, or to any paſſion diſagreeable to others, refined breeding has taught men to throw the byaſs on the oppoſite ſide, and to preſerve, in all their behaviour, the appearance of ſentiments contrary to thoſe which they naturally incline to. Thus, as we are naturally proud and ſelfiſh, and apt to aſſume the preference above others, a polite man is taught to behave with deference towards thoſe with whom he converſes, and to yield up the ſuperiority to them in all the common incidents of ſociety. In like manner, wherever a perſon's ſituation may naturally beget any diſagreeable ſuſpicion in him, 'tis the part of good-manners to prevent it, by a ſtudy'd diſplay of ſentiments directly contrary to thoſe of which he is apt to be jealous. Thus old men know their infirmities, and naturally dread contempt from youth: hence, well educated youth redouble their inſtances of reſpect and deference to their elders. Strangers and foreigners are without protection: hence, in all polite countries, they receive the higheſt civilities, and are entitled to the firſt place in every company. A man is lord in his own family, and his gueſts are, in a manner, ſubject to his authority: hence, he is always the loweſt perſon in the company; attentive to the wants of every one; and giving himſelf all the trouble, in order to pleaſe, which

may

may not betray too viſible an affectation, or impoſe too much conſtraint on his gueſts*. Gallantry is nothing but an inſtance of the ſame generous and refined attention. As nature has given man the ſuperiority above woman, by endowing him with greater ſtrength both of mind and body, 'tis his part to alleviate that ſuperiority, as much as poſſible, by the generoſity of his behaviour, and by a ſtudied deference and complaiſance for all her inclinations and opinions. Barbarous nations diſplay this ſuperiority, by reducing their females to the moſt abject ſlavery; by confining them, by beating them, by ſelling them, by killing them. But the male ſex among a polite people, diſcover their authority in a more generous, though not a leſs evident, manner; by civility, by reſpect, by complaiſance, and, in a word, by gallantry. In good company, you need not aſk, who is maſter of the feaſt? The man who ſits in the loweſt place, and who is always induſtrious in helping every one, is moſt certainly the perſon. We muſt either condemn all ſuch inſtances of generoſity, as foppiſh and affected, or admit of gallantry among the reſt. The ancient Moſcovites wedded their wives with a whip inſtead of a wedding ring. The ſame people in their own houſes, took always the precedency above foreigners, even foreign ambaſſadors. Theſe two inſtances of their generoſity and politeneſs are much of a piece. *Hume's Eſſays.*

* The frequent mention in ancient authors of that ill bred cuſtom, of the maſter of the family's eating better bread or drinking better wine at table, than he afforded his gueſts, is but an indifferent mark of the civility of thoſe ages. See Juvenal Sat. 5, &c.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Not to be acquired but from nature.

POLITENESS is one of thoſe advantages which we never eſtimate rightly but by the inconvenience of its loſs. Its influence upon the manners is conſtant and uniform; ſo that, like an equal motion, it eſcapes perception. The circumſtances of every action are ſo adjuſted to each other, that we do not ſee where any error could have been committed, and rather acquieſce in its propriety, than admire its exactneſs.

But as ſickneſs ſhews us the value of eaſe, a little familiarity with thoſe who were never taught to endeavour the gratification of others, but regulate their behaviour merely by their own will, will ſoon evince the neceſſity of eſtabliſhed modes and formalities to the happineſs and quiet of common life.

Wiſdom and virtue are by no means ſufficient without the ſupplemental laws of good-breeding to ſecure freedom from degenerating to rudeneſs, or ſelf-eſteem from ſwelling into inſolence; a thouſand incivilities may be committed, and a thouſand offices neglected, without any remorſe of conſcience, or reproach from reaſon.

The true effect of genuine politeneſs ſeems to be rather eaſe than pleaſure. The power of delighting muſt be conferred by nature, and cannot be delivered by precept, or obtained by imitation; but though it be the privilege of a very ſmall number to raviſh and to charm, every

every man may hope by rules and caution not to give pain, and may, therefore, by the help of good-breeding, enjoy the kindneſs of mankind, though he ſhould have no claim to higher diſtinctions. *Rambler.*

CHAP. XIV.

POLITICIAN.

A ridiculous character.

I Was the other day in a Coffee-houſe, where I found a man declaiming upon the preſent ſtate of Perſia, and ſo warm for the intereſts of Tamas Kouli Kan, our invincible general *, that if it had not been for his language and dreſs, I ſhould have taken him for a Perſian.

" Sir, ſaid I, are you acquainted with Tamas Kouli Kan, that you concern yourſelf thus about him?" " No, ſaid he, I was never out of England; but I love the Perſians for being enemies to the Turks."

" What hurt have the Turks done you, anſwered I, that you bear ſuch enmity againſt them?"

" Sir, replied he, I am afraid they ſhould hurt the Emperor, whoſe friend I have always declared myſelf."

* By theſe words it appears, that theſe letters were before Tamas Kouli Kan uſurped the throne.

" I en-

I enquired of a gentleman that ſat by me, who this friend of the emperor might be; and was told that he was a dancing-maſter in St. James's-ſtreet.

"For my part (ſaid a young gentleman finely dreſt, that ſtood ſipping a diſh of tea by the fire-ſide) I do not care if Tamas Kouli Kan, and the Great Turk, and all the Perſians and Emperors in Europe were at the bottom of the ſea, provided Farinelli be but ſafe."

The indifference of this gentleman ſurpriſed me more than the importance of the other.

"If you are concerned for Farinelli, ſaid a third, (who they told me was a chymiſt) perſuade him to take my drops, and that will ſecure him from the humidity of the Engliſh air, which may very much prejudice his voice."

"Will it not alſo make a man of him again, ſaid a gentleman to the doctor? After the miracles we have ſeen it has performed, there is nothing more wanting but ſuch a cure to compleat its reputation." *Perſian Letters.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

POETRY.

SECT. I.

Obſervations on the Verſification of Milton.

IT has been obſerved by one of the ancients, That the burthen of government is encreaſed upon princes by the virtues of their immediate predeceſſors. It is, indeed, always dangerous to be placed in a ſtate of unavoidable compariſon with excellence, and the danger is ſtill greater when that excellence is conſecrated by death, when envy and intereſt ceaſe to act againſt it, and thoſe paſſions by which it was at firſt vilified and oppoſed, now ſtand in its defence, and turn their vehemence againſt honeſt emulation.

He that ſucceeds a celebrated writer, has the ſame difficulties to encounter; he ſtands under the ſhade of exalted merit, and is hindered from riſing to his natural height, by the interception of thoſe beams which ſhould invigorate and quicken him. He applies to that attention which is already engaged, and unwilling to be drawn off from certain ſatisfaction; or perhaps to an attention already wearied, and not to be recalled to the ſame object. One of the old poets congratulates himſelf that he has the untrodden

trodden regions of Parnaſſus before him, and that his garland will be gathered from plantations which no writer had yet culled. But the imitator treads a beaten walk, and with all his diligence can only hope to find a few flowers or branches untouched by his predeceſſor, the refuſe of contempt, or the omiſſions of negligence. The Macedonian Conqueror, when he was once invited to hear a man that ſung like a nightingale, replied with contempt, "That he had heard the nightingale herſelf;" and the ſame treatment muſt he expect, whoſe praiſe is, that he imitates another.

Yet, in the midſt of theſe diſcouraging reflections, I am about to offer to my reader ſome obſervations upon Paradiſe Loſt, and hope, that however I may fall below the illuſtrious writer who ſo long dictated to the common-wealth of learning, my attempts may not be wholly uſeleſs. There are in every age, new errors to be rectified, and new prejudices to be oppoſed. Falſe taſte is always buſy to miſlead thoſe that are entering upon the regions of learning; and the traveller, uncertain of his way, and forſaken, will be pleaſed to ſee a fainter orb ariſe on the horizon, that may reſcue him from total darkneſs, though with weak and borrowed luſtre.

Addiſon, though he has conſidered this poem under moſt of the general topicks of criticiſm, has barely touched upon the verſification; not probably becauſe he thought the art of numbers unworthy of his notice, for he knew with what minute attention the antient criticks conſidered the diſpoſition of ſyllables, and had himſelf given hopes of ſome metrical obſervations upon the great Roman poets; but being the firſt who undertook

dertook to diſplay the beauties, and point out the defects of Milton, he had many objects at once before him, and paſſed willingly over thoſe which were moſt barren of ideas, and required labour rather than genius.

Yet verſification, or the art of modulating his numbers, is indiſpenſably neceſſary to a poet. Every other power by which the attention is fixed, the underſtanding enlightened, or the imagination enchanted, may be exerciſed in proſe. But the poet has this peculiar ſuperiority, that to all the powers which the perfection of every other compoſition can require, he adds the faculty of joining muſick with reaſon, and of acting at once upon the ſenſes and the paſſions. I ſuppoſe there are few who do not feel themſelves touched by poetical melody, and who will not confeſs that they are more or leſs moved by the ſame thoughts, as they are conveyed by different ſounds, and more affected by the ſame words in one order, than in another. The perception of harmony is indeed conferred upon men in degrees very unequal, but there are none who do not perceive it, or to whom a regular ſeries of proportionate ſounds cannot give delight.

In treating on the verſification of Milton, I am deſirous to be generally underſtood, and I ſhall therefore ſtudiouſly decline the dialect of grammarians; though, indeed, it is always difficult and ſometimes ſcarcely poſſible to deliver the precepts of an art without the terms by which the peculiar ideas of that art are expreſſed, and which had not been invented but becauſe language already in uſe was inſufficient. If therefore I ſhall ſometimes ſeem obſcure,

it

it may be imputed to this voluntary interdiction; and to a deſire of avoiding that offence which is always given by unuſual words.

The heroic meaſure of the Engliſh language may be properly conſidered as pure or mixed. It is pure when the accent reſts upon every ſecond ſyllable through the whole line.

Courage uncertain dangers may abate,
But whó can beár th' appróach of cértain fáte?
Dryden.

Here Love his golden ſhafts employs, here lights
His cónſtant lámp, and wáves his púrple wings,
Reigns here, and revels; not in the bought ſmile
Of hárlots, lóveleſs, jóyleſs, únendéared.
Milton.

The accent may be obſerved in the ſecond line of Dryden, and the ſecond and fourth of Milton, to repoſe on every ſecond ſyllable.

The repetition of this ſound or percuſſion at equal times is the moſt complete harmony of which a ſingle verſe is capable, and therefore ſhould be exactly kept in diſtichs, and generally in the laſt line of a paragraph, that the ear may reſt without any ſenſe of imperfection.

But, to preſerve the ſeries of ſounds untranſpoſed in a long compoſition, is not only very difficult, but tireſome and diſguſting; for we are ſoon wearied with the perpetual recurrence of the ſame cadence. Neceſſity has therefore enforced the mixed meaſure, in which ſome variation of the accents is allowed; this, tho' it always injures the harmony of the line conſidered by itſelf, yet compenſates the loſs by relieving us from the continual tyranny of the

ſame

ſame ſound, and makes us more ſenſible of the harmony of the pure meaſure.

Of theſe mixed numbers every poet affords us innumerable inſtances; and Milton ſeldom has two pure lines together, as will appear if any of his paragraphs be read with attention merely to the muſick.

Thus at their ſhady lodge arriv'd, both ſtood,
Both turn'd, and under open ſky ador'd
The God that made both ſky, air, earth, and heav'n,
Which they beheld; the moon's reſplendent globe,
And ſtarry pole: Thou alſo mad'ſt the night,
Maker omnipotent! and thou the day,
Which we in our appointed work employ'd
Have finiſh'd, happy in our mutual help,
And mutual love, the crown of all our bliſs
Ordain'd by thee; and this delicious place,
For us too large; where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncrop'd falls to the ground:
But thou haſt promis'd from us two a race
To fill the earth, who ſhall with us extol
Thy goodneſs infinite, both when we awake,
And when we ſeek, as now, thy gift of ſleep.

In this paſſage it will be firſt obſerved, that all the lines are not equally harmonious; and upon a nearer examination it will be found, that only the fifth and ninth lines are regular, and the reſt are more or leſs licentious with reſpect to the accent. In ſome the accent is equally upon two ſyllables together, and in both ſtrong; as,

Thus at their ſhady lodge arriv'd, *both ſtood,*
Both turn'd, and under open ſky ador'd
The God that made both ſky, *air, earth,* and heav'n.

In

In others the accent is equally upon two ſyllables, but upon both, weak.

——————————————a race
To fill the earth, who ſhall with us extol
Thy goodneſs in*finite*, both when awake,
And when we ſeek, as now, thy gift of ſleep.

In the firſt pair of ſyllables the accent may deviate from the rigour of exactneſs, without any unpleaſing diminution of harmony, as may be obſerved in the lines already cited, and more remarkably in this,

——————Thou alſo mad'ſt the night,
Maker omnipotent! and thou the day.

But, excepting in the firſt pair of ſyllables, which may be conſidered as arbitrary, a poet who, not having the invention or knowledge of Milton, has more need to allure his audience by muſical cadences, ſhould ſeldom ſuffer more than one aberration from the rule in any ſingle verſe.

There are two lines in this paſſage more remarkably unharmonious.

——————————This delicious place,
For us too large; *where thy* abundance wants
Partakers, and uncrop'd *falls to* the ground.

Here the third pair of ſyllables in the firſt and fourth pair in the ſecond verſe, have their accents retrograde or inverted; the firſt ſyllable being ſtrong or acute, and the ſecond weak. The detriment which the meaſure ſuffers by this inverſion of the accents is ſometimes leſs perceptible, when the verſes are carried one into

into another, but is remarkably ſtriking in this place, where the vicious verſe concludes a period; and is yet more offenſive in rhyme, when we regularly attend to the flow of every ſingle line. This will appear by reading a couplet in which Cowley, an author not ſufficiently ſtudious of harmony, has committed the ſame fault.

——————————His harmleſs life
Does with ſubſtantial bleſſedneſs abound,
And the ſoft wings of peace *cover* him round.

In theſe the law of metre is very groſsly violated, by mingling combinations of ſound directly oppoſite to each other, as Milton expreſſes it in his ſonnet, by *committing ſhort and long*, and ſetting one part of the meaſure at variance with the reſt. The ancients, who had a language more capable of variety than us, had two kinds of verſe; the Iambick, conſiſting of ſhort and long ſyllables alternately, from which our heroick meaſure is derived; and the Trochaick, conſiſting in a like alternation of long and ſhort. Theſe were conſidered as oppoſites, and conveyed the contrary images of ſpeed and ſlowneſs; to confound them, therefore, as in theſe lines, is to deviate from the eſtabliſhed practice. But where the ſenſes are to judge, authority is not neceſſary, the ear is ſufficient to detect diſſonance, nor ſhould I have ſought auxiliaries on ſuch an occaſion againſt any name but that of Milton. *Rambler.*

SECT. II.

Remarks on the Rules of Verſification; and the Defects and Peculiarity of Milton's pointed out.

THAT verſe may be melodious and pleaſing, it is neceſſary, not only that the words be ſo ranged as that the accent may fall on its proper place, but that the ſyllables themſelves be ſo choſen as to flow ſmoothly into one another. This is to be effected by a proportionate mixture of vowels and conſonants, and by tempering the mute conſonants with liquids and ſemivowels. The Hebrew Grammarians have obſerved, that it is impoſſible to pronounce two conſonants without the intervention of a vowel, or without ſome emiſſion of the breath between one and the other; this is longer and more perceptible, as the ſound of the conſonants are leſs harmonically conjoined, and, by conſequence, the flow of the verſes is longer interrupted.

It is pronounced by Dryden, that a line of monoſyllables is almoſt always harſh. This, with regard to our language, is evidently true, not becauſe monoſyllables cannot compoſe harmony, but becauſe our monoſyllables being of Teutonick original, or formed by contraction, commonly begin and end with conſonants; as,

——Every lower faculty
Of ſenſe, whereby they hear, ſee, ſmell, touch, taſte.

The difference of harmony ariſing principally from the collocation of vowels and conſonants, will be ſufficiently conceived by attending to the following paſſages.

Immortal

Immortal Amarant —— there grows
And flow'rs aloft, ſhading the ſount of life,
And where the river of bliſs though the midſt of heav'n
Rolls o'er Elyſian flow'rs her amber ſtream;
With theſe that never fade, the ſpirits elect
Bind their reſplendent locks inwreath'd with beams.

The ſame compariſon that I propoſe to be made between the fourth and ſixth verſes of this paſſage, may be repeated between the laſt line of the following quotations.

Under foot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich in-lay
Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with ſtone,
Of coſtlieſt emblem.

Here in cloſe receſs,
With flow'rs, garlands, and ſweet-ſmelling herbs,
Eſpouſed Eve firſt deck'd her nuptial bed:
And heav'nly choirs the hymenean ſung.

Milton, whoſe ear had been accuſtomed, not only to the muſick of the antient tongues, which however vitiated by our pronunciation, excel all that are now in uſe, but to the ſoftneſs of the Italian, the moſt mellifluous of all modern poetry, ſeems fully convinced of the unfitneſs of our language for ſmooth verſification, and is therefore pleaſed with an opportunity of calling in a ſofter word to his aſſiſtance; for this reaſon, and I believe for this only, he ſometimes indulges himſelf in a long ſeries of proper names, and introduces them where they add little but muſick to this poem.

———The richer ſeat
Of Atabalipa, and yet unſpoil'd
Guiana, whoſe great city Gerion's ſons
Call El Dorado,———

The Moon——The Tuſcan artiſt views
At evening, from the top of Feſole
Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands.——

He has indeed been more attentive to his ſyllables than to his accents, and does not often offend by colliſions of conſonants, or openings of vowels upon each other, at leaſt not more often than other writers who have had leſs important or complicated ſubjects to take off their care from the cadence of their lines.

The great peculiarity of Milton's verſification, compared with that of latter poets, is the eliſion of one vowel before another, or the ſuppreſſion of the laſt ſyllable of a word ending with a vowel, when a vowel begins the following word. As,

Knowledge——
Oppreſſes elſe with ſurfeit, and ſoon turns
Wiſdom to folly, as nouriſhment to wind.

This licence, though now diſuſed in Engliſh poetry, was practiſed by our old writers, and is allowed in many other languages antient and modern, and therefore the criticks on Paradiſe Loſt have, without much deliberation, commended Milton for continuing it. But one language cannot communicate its rules to another. We have already tried and rejected the hexameter of the ancients, the double cloſe of the Italians, and the Alexandrine of the French; and the eliſion of vowels, however graceful

graceful it may ſeem to other nations, may be very unſuitable to the genius of the Engliſh tongue.

There is reaſon to believe that we have negligently loſt part of our vowels, and that the ſilent *e* which our anceſtors added to moſt of our monoſyllables, was once vocal. By this detruncation of our ſyllables, our language is overſtocked with conſonants, and it is more neceſſary to add vowels to the beginning of words, than to cut them off from the end.

Milton therefore ſeems to have ſomewhat miſtaken the nature of our language, of which the chief defect is ruggedneſs and aſperity, and has left our harſh cadences yet harſher. But his eliſions are not all equally to be cenſured; in ſome ſyllables they may be allowed, and perhaps in a few may be ſafely imitated. The abſciſſion of a vowel is undoubtedly vicious when it is ſtrongly ſounded, and makes, with its aſſociate conſonant, a full and audible ſyllable.

——What he gives,
Spiritual, may to pureſt ſpirits be found,
No ingrateful food, and food alike theſe pure
Intelligential ſubſtances require.

Fruits,——Heſperian fables true,
If true, here *only*, and of delicious taſte.

——Evening now approach'd,
For we have *alſo* our evening and our morn.

Of gueſts he makes them ſlaves,
Inhoſpita*bly*, and kills their infant males.

And vital Vir*tue* infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid maſs.——

God made *thee* of choice his own, and of his own
To ſerve him.

I believe every reader will agree, that in all thoſe paſſages, though not equally in all, the muſick is injured, and in ſome the meaning obſcured. There are other lines in which the vowel is cut off, but it is ſo faintly pronounced in common ſpeech, that the loſs of it in poetry is ſcarcely perceived; and therefore ſuch compliance with the meaſure may be allowed.

Nature breeds
Perverſe, all monſtrous, all prodigious things,
Abomina*ble*, inutter*able*; and worſe
Than fables yet have feign'd——

——From the ſhore
They view'd the vaſt immenſura*ble* abyſs.

Impenetra*ble*, impal'd with circling fire.

To none communica*ble* in earth or heav'n.

Yet even theſe contractions encreaſe the roughneſs of a language too rough already; and though in long poems they may be ſometimes ſuffered, it never can be faulty to forbear them.

Milton frequently uſes in his poems the hypermetrical or redundant line of eleven ſyllables.

——Thus it ſhall befall
Him who to worth in woman over-truſt*ing*
Lets her will rule.——

I alſo err'd in over-much admir*ing*.

Verſes

Verſes of this kind occur almoſt in every page; but though they are not unpleaſing or diſſonant, they ought not to be admitted into heroick poetry, ſince the narrow limits of our language allow us no other diſtinction of epick and tragick meaſures, than is afforded by the liberty of changing at will the terminations of the dramatick lines, and bringing them by that relaxation of metrical rigour nearer to proſe.

Rambler.

SECT. III.

Milton formed the Scheme of his Verſification upon the Models of Greece and Rome.

MILTON formed his ſcheme of verſification by the poets of Greece and Rome, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his models, ſo far as the difference of his language from theirs would permit the imitation. There are indeed many inconveniencies inſeparable from our heroick meaſure compared with that of Homer and Virgil; inconveniencies, which it is no reproach to Milton not to have overcome, becauſe they are in their own nature inſuperable; but againſt which he has ſtruggled with ſo much art and diligence, that he may at leaſt be ſaid to have deſerved ſucceſs.

The hexameter of the ancients may be conſidered as conſiſting of fifteen ſyllables, ſo melodiouſly diſpoſed, that, as every one knows who has examined the poetical authors, very pleaſing and ſonorous lyrick meaſures are formed from the fragments of the heroick. It is, indeed, ſcarce poſſible to break them in ſuch a manner but that *invenias etiam diſjecti membra poetæ*, ſome har-

mony will ſtill remain, and the due proportions of ſound will always be diſcovered. This meaſure therefore allowed great variety of pauſes, and great liberties of connecting one verſe with another, becauſe wherever the line was interrupted, either part ſingly was muſical. But the ancients ſeem to have confined this privilege to hexameters; for in their other meaſures, though longer than the Engliſh heroick, thoſe who wrote after the refinements of verſification, ventured ſo ſeldom to change their pauſes, that every variation may be ſuppoſed rather a compliance with neceſſity than the choice of judgment.

Milton was conſtrained within the narrow limits of a meaſure not very harmonious in the utmoſt perfection; the ſingle parts, therefore, into which it was to be ſometimes broken by pauſes, were in danger of loſing the very form of verſe. This has, perhaps, notwithſtanding all his care, ſometimes happened.

As harmony is the end of poetical meaſures, no part of a verſe ought to be ſo ſeparated from the reſt as not to remain ſtill more harmonious than proſe, or to ſhew, by the diſpoſition of the tones, that it is part of a verſe. This rule in the old hexameter might be eaſily obſerved, but in Engliſh will very frequently be in danger of violation; for the order and regularity of accents cannot well be perceived in a ſucceſſion of fewer than three ſyllables, which will confine the Engliſh poet to only five pauſes; it being ſuppoſed, that, when he connects one line with another, he ſhould never make a full pauſe at leſs diſtance than that of three ſyllables from the beginning or end of a verſe.

That

That this rule ſhould be univerſally and indiſpenſably eſtabliſhed, perhaps cannot be granted; ſomething may be allowed to variety, and ſomething to the adaptation of the numbers to the ſubject; but it will be found generally neceſſary, and the ear will ſeldom fail to ſuffer by its neglect.

Thus when a ſingle ſyllable is cut off from the reſt, it muſt either be united to the line with which the ſenſe connects it, or be ſounded alone. If it be united to the other line, it corrupts its harmony; if disjoined it muſt ſtand alone, and with regard to muſick be ſuperfluous; for there is no harmony in a ſingle ſound, becauſe it has no proportion to another.

Hypocrites auſterely talk,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure; and commands to ſome, leaves free to all.

When two ſyllables likewiſe are abſcinded from the reſt, they evidently want ſome aſſociate ſounds to make them harmonious.

——Eyes——
——more wakeful than to drouze,
Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the paſt'ral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Meanwhile
To re-ſalute the world with ſacred light
Leucothea wak'd.

He ended, and the ſun gave ſignal high
To the bright miniſter that watch'd: *he blew*
His trumpet.

Firſt in his eaſt the glorious lamp was ſeen,
Regent of day; and all th' horizon round
Inveſted with bright rays, jocund to run

His longitude through heav'n's high road; *the gray*
Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danc'd,
Shedding ſweet influences.

The ſame defect is perceived in the following line, where the pauſe is at the ſecond ſyllable from the beginning.

The race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, 'till the ſavage clamour drown'd
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muſe defend
Her ſon. So fail not thou, who thee implores.

When the pauſe falls upon the third ſyllable or the ſeventh, the harmony is better preſerved; but as the third and ſeventh are weak ſyllables, the period leaves the ear unſatisfied, and in expectation of the remaining part of the verſe.

He with his horrid crew,
Lay vanquiſh'd, rolling in the fiery gulph,
Confounded though immor*tal.* But his doom
Reſerved him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of loſt happineſs and laſting pain
Torments *him.*

God. —— with frequent intercourſe,
Thither will ſend his winged meſſengers
On errands of ſuperficial grace. So ſung
The glorious train aſcend*ing.*

It may be, I think, eſtabliſhed as a rule, that a pauſe which concludes a period ſhould be made for the moſt part upon a ſtrong ſyllable, as the fourth and ſixth; but thoſe pauſes which only ſuſpend the ſenſe may be placed upon the weaker.

Thus

Thus the reſt in the third line of the firſt paſſage ſatisfies the ear better than in the fourth, and the cloſe of the ſecond quotation better than of the third.

The evil ſoon
Drawn back, redounded (as a flood) on thoſe
From whom it *ſprung*; impoſſible to mix
With *bleſſedneſs*.

——What we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides,
Tending to *wild*.

The paths and bow'rs doubt not but our joint hands
Will keep from wilderneſs with eaſe as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Aſſiſt *us*.

The reſt in the fifth place has the ſame inconvenience as in the ſeventh and third, that the ſyllable is weak.

Beaſt now with beaſt 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fiſh with fiſh, to graze the herb all leaving,
Devour'd each *other*: Nor ſtood much in awe
Of man, but fled *him*, or with countenance grim,
Glar'd on him paſs*ing*.

The nobleſt and moſt majeſtick pauſes which our verſification admits, are upon the fourth and ſixth ſyllables, which are both ſtrongly founded in a pure and regular verſe, and at either of which the line is ſo divided, that both members participate of harmony.

But now at laſt the ſacred influence
Of light *appears*, and from the walls of heav'n
Shoots far into the boſom of dim night
A glimmering *dawn*: here nature firſt begins
Her fartheſt verge, and chaos to retire.

But far above all others, if I can give any credit to my own ear, is the reſt upon the ſixth ſyllable which taking in a complete compaſs of ſound, ſuch as is ſufficient to conſtitute one of our lyrick meaſures, makes a full and ſolemn cloſe. Some paſſages which conclude at this ſtop, I could never read without ſome ſtrong emotions of delight or admiration.

Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
Thou with the eternal wiſdom didſt converſe,
Wiſdom thy ſiſter; and with her didſt play
In preſence of the almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy celeſtial *ſong*.

Or other worlds they ſeem'd, or happy iſles,
Like thoſe Heſperian gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,
Thrice happy iſles! But who dwelt happy there,
He ſtaid not to in*quire*.

He blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb ſince, perhaps
When GOD deſcended; and, perhaps, once more
To ſound at general *doom*.

If the poetry of Milton be examined, with regard to the pauſes and flow of his verſes into each other, it will appear, that he has performed all that our language would admit; and the compariſon of his numbers with thoſe who have cultivated the ſame manner of writing, will ſhow that he excelled as much in the lower as the higher parts of his art, and that his ſkill in harmony was not leſs than his invention or his learning. *Rambler*.

CHAP

CHAP. XVI.

POET.

The buſineſs and qualifications of a Poet deſcribed.

WHerever I went, I found that Poetry was conſidered as the higheſt learning, and regarded with a veneration ſomewhat approaching to that which man would pay to the Angelick Nature. And it yet fills me with wonder, that, in almoſt all countries, the moſt ancient poets are conſidered as the beſt: whether it be that every other kind of knowledge is an acquiſition gradually attained, and poetry is a gift conferred at once; or that the firſt poetry of every nation ſurpriſed them as a novelty, and retained the credit by conſent which is received by accident at firſt: or whether, as the province of poetry is to deſcribe Nature and Paſſion, which are always the ſame, the firſt writers took poſſeſſion of the moſt ſtriking objects for deſcription, and the moſt probable occurrences for fiction, and left nothing to thoſe that followed them, but tranſcriptions of the ſame events, and new combinations of the ſame images. Whatever be the reaſon, it is commonly obſerved that the early writers are in poſſeſſion of nature, and their followers of art: that the firſt excel in ſtrength and invention, and the latter in elegance and refinement.

" I was deſirous to add my name to this illuſtrious

illuſtrious fraternity. I read all the poets of Perſia and Arabia, and was able to repeat by memory the volumes that are ſuſpended in the moſque of Mecca. But I ſoon found that no man was ever great by imitation. My deſire of excellence impelled me to transfer my attention to nature and to life. Nature was to be my ſubject, and men to be my auditors: I could never deſcribe what I had not ſeen: I could not hope to move thoſe with delight or terrour, whoſe intereſts and opinions I did not underſtand.

"Being now reſolved to be a poet, I ſaw every thing with a new purpoſe; my ſphere of attention was ſuddenly magnified: no kind of knowledge was to be overlooked. I ranged mountains and deſerts for images and reſemblances, and pictured upon my mind every tree of the foreſt and flower of the valley. I obſerved with equal care the crags of the rock and the pinnacles of the palace. Sometimes I wandered along the mazes of the rivulet, and ſometimes watched the changes of the ſummer clouds. To a poet nothing can be uſeleſs. Whatever is beautiful, and whatever is dreadful, muſt be familiar to his imagination: he muſt be converſant with all that is awfully vaſt or elegantly little. The plants of the garden, the animals of the wood, the minerals of the earth, and metors of the ſky, muſt all concur to ſtore his mind with inexhauſtible variety: for every idea is uſeful for the enforcement or decoration of moral or religious truth; and he, who knows moſt, will have moſt power of diverſifying his ſcenes, and of gratifying his reader with remote alluſions and unexpected inſtruction.

All

"All the appearances of nature I was therefore careful to ſtudy, and every country which I have ſurveyed has contributed ſomething to my poetical powers."

"In ſo wide a ſurvey, ſaid the prince, you muſt ſurely have left much unobſerved. I have lived, till now, within the circuit of theſe mountains, and yet cannot walk abroad without the ſight of ſomething which I never beheld before, or never heeded."

"The buſineſs of a poet, ſaid Imlac, is to examine, not the individual, but the ſpecies; to remark general properties and large appearances: he does not number the ſtreaks of the tulip, or deſcribe the different ſhades in the verdure of the foreſt. He is to exhibit in his portraits of nature ſuch prominent and ſtriking features, as recal the original to every mind; and muſt neglect the minuter diſcriminations, which one may have remarked, and another have neglected, for thoſe characteriſticks which are alike obvious to vigilance and careleſſneſs.

"But the knowledge of nature is only half the taſk of a poet; he muſt be acquainted likewiſe with all the modes of life. His character requires that he eſtimate the happineſs and miſery of every condition; obſerve the power of all the paſſions in all their combinations, and trace the changes of the human mind as they are modified by various inſtitutions, and accidental influences of climate or cuſtom, from the ſpritelineſs of infancy to the deſpondence of decrepitude. He muſt diveſt himſelf of the prejudices of his age or country; he muſt conſider right and wrong in their abſtract and invariable ſtate; he muſt diſregard preſent laws and

and opinions, and riſe to general and tranſcendental truths, which will always be the ſame: he muſt therefore content himſelf with the ſlow progreſs of his name; contemn the applauſe of his own time, and commit his claims to the juſtice of poſterity. He muſt write as the interpreter of nature, and the legiſlator of mankind, and conſider himſelf as preſiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations; as a being ſuperior to time and place.

"His labour is not yet at an end: he muſt know many languages and many ſciences; and, that his ſtile may be worthy of his thoughts, muſt by inceſſant practice, familiarize to himſelf every delicacy of ſpeech and grace of harmony." *Johnſon's Raſſelas.*

CHAP. XVII.

POETS.

SECT. I.

Remarks on ſome of the beſt, both ancient and modern.

'TIS manifeſt, that ſome particular ages have been more happy than others, in the production of great men, and all ſorts of arts and ſciences; as that of Euripides, Sophocles, Ariſtophanes, and the reſt, for ſtage poetry

poetry amongſt the Greeks; that of Auguſtus for heroick, lyrick, dramatick, elegiaque, and indeed all ſorts of poetry, in the perſons of Virgil, Horace, Varius, Ovid, and many others; eſpecially if we take into that century the latter end of the Common-wealth, wherein we find Varro, Lucretius, and Catullus: and at the ſame time lived Cicero, Salluſt, and Cæſar. A famous age in modern times for learning in every kind, was that of Lorenzo de Medici and his ſon Leo. X. wherein painting was revived, and poetry flouriſhed, and the Greek language was reſtored.

Examples in all theſe are obvious: but what I would infer is this, That in ſuch an age, 'tis poſſible ſome great genius may ariſe to equal any of the ancients, abating only for the language; for great contemporaries whet and cultivate each other; and mutual borrowing, and commerce, makes the common riches of learning, as it does of civil government.

But ſuppoſe that Homer and Virgil were the only poets of their ſpecies, and that Nature was ſo much worn out in producing them, that ſhe is never able to bear the like again; yet the example only holds in heroick poetry. In tragedy and ſatire, I offer myſelf to maintain againſt ſome of our modern critics, That this age and the laſt, particularly in England, have excelled the ancients in both theſe kinds.

Thus I might ſafely confine myſelf to my native country: but if I would only croſs the ſeas, I might find in France a living Horace and a Juvenal, in the perſon of the admirable Boileau, whoſe numbers are excellent, whoſe expreſſions

preſſions are noble, whoſe thoughts are juſt, whoſe language is pure, whoſe ſatire is pointed, and whoſe ſenſe is cloſe. What he borrows from the ancients, he repays with uſury of his own in coin as good, and almoſt as univerſally valuable; for ſetting prejudice and partiality apart, though he is our enemy, the ſtamp of a Louis, the patron of arts, is not much inferior to the medal of an Auguſtus Cæſar. Let this be ſaid without entering into the intereſts of factions and parties, and relating only the bounty of that king to men of learning and merit: a praiſe ſo juſt, that even we who are his enemies, cannot refuſe it to him.

Now if it may be permitted me to go back again to the conſideration of epique poetry, I have confeſſed that no man hitherto has reached, or ſo much as approached to the excellencies of Homer or Virgil; I muſt farther add, that Statius, the beſt verſificator next Virgil, knew not how to deſign after him, though he had the model in his eyes; that Lucan is wanting both in deſign and ſubject, and is beſides too full of heat and affection; that among the moderns, Arioſto neither deſigned juſtly, nor obſerved any unity of action or compaſs of time, or moderation in the vaſtneſs of his draught: his ſtyle is luxurious, without majeſty or decency; and his adventures without the compaſs of nature and poſſibility. Taſſo, whoſe deſign was regular, and who obſerved the rules of unity in time and place more cloſely than Virgil, yet was not ſo happy in his action; he confeſſes himſelf to have been too lyrical, that is, to have written beneath the dignity of heroick verſe,

verſe, in his Epiſodes of Sophronia, Erminia, and Armida; his ſtory is not ſo pleaſing as Arioſto's; he is too flatulent ſometimes, and ſometimes too dry; many times unequal, and almoſt always forced; and beſides, is full of conceptions, points of epigram, and witticiſms; all which are not only below the dignity of heroick verſe, but contrary to its nature. Virgil and Homer have not one of them: and thoſe who are guilty of ſo boyiſh an ambition in ſo grave a ſubject, are ſo far from being conſidered as heroick poets, that they ought to be turned down from Homer to Anthologia, from Virgil to Martial and Owen's epigrams, and from Spenſer to Flecno, that is, from the top to the bottom of all poetry. But to return to Taſſo; he borrows from the invention of Boyardo, and in his alteration of his poem, which is infinitely the worſt, imitates Homer ſo very ſervilely, that (for example) he gives the king of Jeruſalem fifty ſons, only becauſe Homer had beſtowed the like number on king Priam; he kills the youngeſt in the ſame manner, and has provided his hero with a Patroclus, under another name, only to bring him back to the wars, when his friend was killed. The French have performed nothing in this kind, which is not below thoſe two Italians, and ſubject to a thouſand more reflections, without examining their St. Louis, their Pucelle, or their Alarique. The Engliſh have only to boaſt of Spenſer and Milton, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many cenſures. For there is no uniformity in the deſign of Spenſer;

he

he aims at the accompliſhment of no one action; he raiſes up a heroe for every one of his adventures; and endows each of them with ſome particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without ſubordination or preference. Every one is moſt valiant in his own legend; only we muſt do them the juſtice to obſerve, that magnanimity, which is the character of Prince Arthur, ſhines through the whole poem, and ſuccours the reſt, when they are in diſtreſs. The original of every knight was then living in the court of queen Elizabeth; and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought moſt conſpicuous in them: an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to finiſh his poem, in the ſix remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, becauſe the model was not true. But Prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, whom he intended to make happy by the marriage of his Gloriana, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and ſpirit to accompliſh his deſign. For the reſt, his obſolete language, and ill choice of his ſtanza, are faults but of the ſecond magnitude: for notwithſtanding the firſt, he is ſtill intelligible, at leaſt after a little practice; and for the laſt, he is the more to be admired, that labouring under ſuch a difficulty, his verſes are ſo numerous, ſo various, and ſo harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he profeſſedly imitated, has ſurpaſſed him among the Romans, and only Mr. Waller among the Engliſh. *Dryden.*

SECT.

SECT. II.

Remarks on ſome of the beſt Engliſh dramatic Poets.

SHAKESPEARE was the man who, of all modern and perhaps ancient poets, had the largeſt and moſt comprehenſive ſoul. All the images of nature were ſtill preſent to him, and he drew them not laboriouſly, but luckily: when he deſcribes any thing, you more than ſee it, you feel it too. Thoſe who accuſe him to have wanted learning, give him the greater commendation: he was naturally learned; he needed not the ſpectacles of books to read Nature; he looked inwards, and found her there. I cannot ſay he is every where alike; were he ſo, I ſhould do him injury to compare him with the greateſt of mankind. He is many times flat and inſipid; his comick wit degenerating into clenches; his ſerious ſwelling into bombaſt. But he is always great, when ſome great occaſion is preſented to him: no man can ſay he ever had a fit ſubject for his wit, and did not then raiſe himſelf as high above the reſt of Poets,

Quantùm lenta ſolent inter viburna cupreſſi.

The conſideration of this made Mr. Hales of Eaton ſay, That there was no ſubject of which any poet ever writ, but he would produce it much better treated in Shakeſpeare; and however others are now generally preferred before him, yet the age wherein he lived, which had contemporaries with him

Fletcher

Fletcher and Johnſon, never equalled them to him in their eſteem. And in the laſt king's court, when Ben's reputation was at the higheſt, Sir John Suckling, and with him the greater part of the courtiers, ſet our Shakeſpeare far above him.

Beaumont and Fletcher, of whom I am next to ſpeak, had with the advantage of Shakeſpeare's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts, improved by ſtudy; Beaumont eſpecially being ſo accurate a judge of players, that Ben Johnſon, while he lived, ſubmitted all his writings to his cenſure, and, 'tis thought, uſed his judgement in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots. What value he had for him, appears by the verſes he writ to him, and therefore I need ſpeak no farther of it. The firſt play which brought Fletcher and him in eſteem was their Philaſter; for before that, they had written two or three very unſucceſsfully: and the like is reported of Ben Johnſon, before he writ Every Man in his Humour. Their plots were generally more regular than Shakeſpeare's, eſpecially thoſe which were made before Beaumont's death; and they underſtood and imitated the converſation of gentlemen much better, whoſe wild debaucheries, and quickneſs of repartees, no poet can ever paint as they have done. That humour which Ben Johnſon derived from particular perſons, they made it not their buſineſs to deſcribe: they repreſented all the paſſions very lively, but above all, Love. I am apt to believe the Engliſh language in them arrived to its higheſt perfection: what words have been taken in, are rather ſuperfluous than neceſſary.

Their

Their plays are now the moſt pleaſant and frequent entertainments of the ſtage; two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakeſpeare's or Johnſon's: the reaſon is, becauſe there is a certain gaiety in their comedies, and pathos in their more ſerious plays, which ſuits generally with all men's humour. Shakeſpeare's language is likewiſe a little obſolete, and Ben Johnſon's wit comes ſhort of theirs.

As for Johnſon, to whoſe character I am now arrived, if we look upon him while he was himſelf (for his laſt plays were but his dotages), I think him the moſt learned and judicious writer which any theatre ever had. He was a moſt ſevere judge of himſelf as well as others. One cannot ſay he wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it. In his works you find little to retrench or alter. Wit and language, and humour alſo in ſome meaſure, we had before him; but ſomething of art was wanting to the drama till he came. He managed his ſtrength to more advantage than any who preceded him. You ſeldom find him making love in any of his ſcenes, or endeavouring to move the paſſions; his genius was too ſullen and ſaturnine to do it gracefully, eſpecially when he knew he came after thoſe who had performed both to ſuch an height. Humour was his proper ſphere, and in that he delighted moſt to repreſent mechanick people. He was deeply converſant in the ancients, both Greek and Latin, and he borrowed boldly from them: there is not a poet or hiſtorian among the Roman authors of thoſe times, whom he has not tranſlated in Sejanus and Catiline. But he has done his robberies ſo openly,

openly, that one may ſee he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other poets, is only victory in him. With the ſpoils of thoſe writers he ſo repreſents old Rome to us, in its rites, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, that if one of their poets had written either of his tragedies, we had ſeen leſs of it than him. If there was any fault in his language, 'twas that he weav'd it too cloſely and laborioufly in his ſerious plays: perhaps too, he did a little too much Romanize our tongue, leaving the words which he tranſlated almoſt as much Latin as he found them; wherein, though he learnedly followed the idiom of their language, he did not enough comply with ours. If I would compare with him Shakeſpeare, I muſt acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakeſpeare the greater wit. Shakeſpeare was the Homer, or father of our dramatic poets, Johnſon was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love Shakeſpeare. To conclude of him, as he has given us the moſt correct plays, ſo in the precepts which he has laid down in his diſcoveries, we have as many and as profitable rules for perfecting the ſtage as any wherewith the French can furniſh us.

Dryden's Eſſays.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

POVERTY.

Underſtood in different lights, and in what to be dreaded.

THERE are few words of which the reader believes himſelf better to know the import than of *poverty*; yet whoever ſtudies the poets or philoſophers, will find ſuch an account of the condition expreſſed by that term, as his experience or obſervation will not eaſily diſcover to be true. Inſtead of the meanneſs, diſtreſs, complaint, anxiety, and dependance, which have hitherto been combined in his ideas of poverty, he will read of content, innocence, and chearfulneſs, of health and ſafety, tranquility and freedom; of pleaſures not known but to men unencumbered with poſſeſſions; and of ſleep that ſheds his balſamick anodynes only on the cottage. Such are the bleſſings to be obtained by the reſignation of riches, that kings might deſcend from their thrones, and generals retire from a triumph, only to ſlumber undiſturbed in the elyſium of poverty.

If theſe authors do not deceive us, nothing can be more abſurd than that perpetual conteſt for wealth which keeps the world in commotion, and fills almoſt every mind with ſtratagems and competition; nor any complaints more

juſtly cenſured than thoſe which proceed from want of the gifts of fortune, which we are taught by the great maſters of moral wiſdom to conſider as golden ſhackles, by which the wearer is at once diſabled and adorned; as luſcious poiſons which may for a time pleaſe the palate, but ſoon betray their malignity by languor and by pain.

It is the great privilege of poverty to be happy unenvied, to be healthful without phyſic, and ſecure without a guard; to obtain from the bounty of nature, what the great and wealthy are compelled to procure by the help of artiſts and attendants, of flatterers and ſpies.

But it will be found upon a nearer view that they who extol the happineſs of poverty, do not mean the ſame ſtate with thoſe who deplore its miſeries. Poets have their imaginations filled with ideas of magnificence; and being accuſtomed to contemplate the downfall of empires, or to contrive forms of lamentation for monarchs in diſtreſs, rank all the claſſes of mankind in a ſtate of poverty, who make no approaches to the dignity of crowns. To be poor in the epick language, is only not to command the wealth of nations, not to have fleets and armies in pay.

Vanity has perhaps contributed to this impropriety of ſtile. He that wiſhes to become a philoſopher at a cheap rate, eaſily gratifies his ambition by ſubmitting to poverty when he does not feel it, and by boaſting his contempt of riches, when he has already more than he enjoys. He who would ſhow the extent of his views, and grandeur of his conceptions, or diſcover his acquaintance with ſplendor and magnificence, may talk

talk like Cowley of an humble ſtation and quiet obſcurity, of the paucity of nature's wants, and inconveniencies of ſuperfluity, and at laſt, like him, limit his deſires to five hundred pounds a year: a fortune indeed not exuberant when we compare it with the expences of pride and luxury, but to which it little becomes a philoſopher to affix the name of poverty, ſince no man can with any propriety be termed poor, who does not ſee the greater part of mankind richer than himſelf.

As little is the general condition of human life underſtood by the panegyriſts and hiſtorians who amuſe us with accounts of the poverty of heroes and ſages. Riches are of no value in themſelves, their uſe is diſcovered only in that which they procure. They are not coveted, unleſs by a few narrow underſtandings, which confound the means with the end, but for the ſake of power, influence, and eſteem; or, by ſome of leſs elevated and refined ſentiments, as neceſſary to ſenſual enjoyment.

The pleaſures of luxury, many have, without uncommon virtue, been able to deſpiſe, even when affluence and idleneſs have concurred to tempt them; and therefore he who feels nothing from indigence but the want of gratifications which he could not in any other condition make conſiſtent with innocence, has given no proof of eminent patience. Eſteem and influence every man deſires, but they are equally pleaſing and equally valuable, by whatever means they are obtained; and whoever has found the art of ſecuring them without the help of money, ought, in reality, to be accounted rich, ſince he has all that riches can purchaſe to a wiſe man.

Cincinnatus, though he lived upon a few acres cultivated by his own hand, was ſufficiently removed from all the evils generally comprehended under the name of poverty, when his reputation was ſuch, that the voice of his country called him from his farm to take abſolute command into his hand; nor was Diogenes much mortified by his reſidence in a tub, where he was honoured with the viſit of Alexander the Great.

The ſame fallacy has conciliated veneration to the religious orders. When we behold a man abdicating the hope of terreſtrial poſſeſſions, and precluding himſelf by an irrevocable vow from the purſuit and acquiſition of all that his fellow beings conſider as worthy of wiſhes and endeavours, we are immediately ſtruck with the purity, abſtraction, and firmneſs of his mind, and regard him as wholly employed in ſecuring the intereſts of futurity, and devoid of any other care than to gain at whatever price the ſureſt paſſage to eternal reſt.

Yet, what can the votary be juſtly ſaid to have loſt of his preſent happineſs? If he reſides in a convent, he converſes only with men whoſe condition is the ſame with his own; he has from the munificence of the founder all the neceſſaries of life, and is ſafe from that "deſtitution, which Hooker declares to be ſuch an impediment to virtue as, till it be removed, ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care." All temptations to envy and competition are ſhut out from his retreat; he is not pained with the ſight of unattainable dignity, nor inſulted with the bluſter of inſolence, or the ſmile of forced familiarity. If he wanders abroad, the ſanctity of his character amply compenſates

all

all other distinctions, as he is seldom seen but with reverence, nor heard but with obedience.

It has been remarked, that death, though often defied in the field, seldom fails to terrify when it approaches the bed of sickness in its natural horror; so poverty may easily be endured, while associated with dignity and reputation, but will always be shunned and dreaded, when it is accompanied with ignominy and contempt. *Rambler.*

CHAP. XIX.

POWER.

Despotic, a foe to improvement.

IN the first ages of the world, when men were as yet barbarous and ignorant, they sought no farther security against mutual violence and injustice than the choice of some rulers, few or many, in whom they placed an implicit confidence, without providing any security, by laws or political institutions, against the violence and injustice of these rulers. If the authority be centered in a single person, and if the people, by conquest or generation, increase

to a great multitude, the monarch, finding it impoſſible, in his own perſon, to execute every office of ſovereignty, in every place, muſt delegate his authority to inferior magiſtrates, who preſerve peace and order in their particular diſtricts. As experience and education have not yet refined the judgments of men to any conſiderable degree, the prince, who is himſelf unreſtrained, never dreams of reſtraining his miniſters, but delegates his full authority to every one, whom he ſets over any portion of the people. All general laws are attended with inconveniencies, when applied to particular caſes; and it requires great penetration and experience, both to perceive that theſe inconveniencies are fewer than what reſult from full diſcretionary powers in every magiſtrate; and alſo, what general laws are, upon the whole, attended with feweſt inconveniencies. This is a matter of ſo great difficulty, that men may have made ſome advances, even in the ſublime arts of poetry and eloquence, where a rapidity of genius and imagination aſſiſts their progreſs, before they have arrived at any great refinement in their municipal laws, where frequent trials and diligent obſervation can alone direct their improvements. It is not therefore to be ſuppoſed, that a barbarous monarch, unreſtrained and uninſtructed, will ever become a legiſlator, or think of reſtraining his Baſhas in every province, or even Cadis in every village. We are told, that the Czar Peter, though actuated with a noble genius, and ſmit with the love and admiration of European arts, yet profeſſed an eſteem for the Turkiſh policy in this particular, and approved of ſuch ſummary deciſions of cauſes as are practiſed

practiſed in that barbarous monarchy, where the judges are not reſtrained by any methods, forms, or laws. He did not perceive, how contrary ſuch a practice would have been to all his other endeavours for refining his people. Deſpotic power, in all caſes, is ſomewhat oppreſſive and debaſing; but 'tis altogether ruinous and intolerable, when contracted into a ſmall compaſs; and becomes ſtill worſe, when the perſon who poſſeſſes it knows that the time of his authority is limited and uncertain. *Habet ſubjectos tanquam ſuos; viles, ut alienus.* He governs the ſubjects with full authority, as if they were his own; and negligence or tyranny, as belonging to another. A people governed after ſuch a manner are ſlaves, in the full and proper ſenſe of the word; and 'tis impoſſible they can ever aſpire to any refinements of taſte or reaſon: they dare not ſo much as pretend to enjoy the neceſſaries of life in plenty or ſecurity.

Hume's Eſſays.

CHAP. XX.

PRAISE.

The chief motive to all actions.

PRAISE is ſo pleaſing to the mind of man, that it is the original motive of almoſt all our actions. The deſire of commendation, as

of every thing elſe, is varied indeed by innumerable differences of temper, capacity and knowledge; ſome have no higher wiſh than for the applauſe of a club; ſome expect the acclamations of a county; and ſome have hoped to fill the mouths of all ages and nations with their names. Every man pants for the higheſt eminence within his view; none, however mean, ever ſinks below the hope of being diſtinguiſhed by his fellow-beings; and very few have, by magnanimity or piety, been ſo raiſed above it, as to act wholly without regard to human cenſure or opinion.

To be praiſed, therefore, every man reſolves; but reſolutions will not execute themſelves. That which all think too parſimoniouſly diſtributed to their own claims, they will not gratuitouſly ſquander upon others, and ſome expedient muſt be tried by which praiſe may be gained before it can be enjoyed.

Among the innumerable bidders for praiſe, ſome are willing to purchaſe at the higheſt rate, and offer eaſe and health, fortune and life. Yet even of theſe only a ſmall part have gained what they ſo earneſtly deſired; the ſtudent waſtes away in meditation, and the ſoldier periſhes on the ramparts; but unleſs ſome accidental advantage co-operates with merit, neither perſeverance nor adventure attract the attention of mankind, and learning and bravery ſink into the grave without honour or remembrance.

But ambition and vanity generally expect to be gratified on eaſier terms. It has been long obſerved, that what is procured by ſkill or labour to the firſt poſſeſſor, may be afterwards transferred

transferred for money; and that the man of wealth may partake all the acquiſitions of courage without hazard, and all the products of induſtry without fatigue. It was eaſily diſcovered, that riches would obtain praiſe among other conveniences, and that he whoſe pride was unluckily aſſociated with lazineſs, ignorance, or cowardice, needed only to pay the hire of a panegyriſt, and he might be regaled with periodical eulogies; might determine, at leiſure, what virtue or ſcience he would be pleaſed to appropriate, and be lulled in the evening with ſoothing ſounds, or awaked in the morning by ſprightly gratulations.

The happineſs which mortals receive from the celebration of beneficence which never relieved, or eloquence which never perſuaded, dignity which never awed, or elegance which never pleaſed, ought not to be envied or diſturbed, when they are known honeſtly to pay for their entertainment. But there are unmerciful exactors of adulation, who withhold the wages of venality; retain their encomiaſt from year to year by general promiſes and ambiguous blandiſhments; and when he has run through the whole compaſs of flattery diſmiſs him with contempt, becauſe his vein of fiction is exhauſted.

A continual feaſt of commendation is only to be obtained by merit or by wealth; many are therefore obliged to content themſelves with ſingle morſels, and recompenſe the infrequency of their enjoyment by exceſs and riot, whenever fortune ſets the banquet before them. Hunger is never delicate; they who are ſeldom gorged

to the full with praiſe, may be ſafely fed with groſs compliments, for the appetite muſt be ſatisfied before it is diſguſted.

It is generally eaſy to find the moment at which vanity is eager for ſuſtenance, and all that impudence or ſervility can offer will be well received. When any one complains of the want of what he is known to poſſeſs in an uncommon degree, he certainly waits with impatience to be contradicted. When the trader pretends anxiety about the payment of his bills, or the beauty remarks how frightfully ſhe looks, then is the lucky moment to talk of riches, or of charms, of the death of lovers, or the honour of a merchant.

Others there are yet more open and artleſs, who inſtead of ſuborning a flatterer are content to ſupply his place, and, as ſome animals impregnate themſelves, ſwell with the praiſes which they hear from their own tongues. *Rectè is dicitur laudare ſeſe, cui nemo alius contigit laudator.* "It is right, ſays Eraſmus, that he, whom no one elſe will commend, ſhould beſtow commendations on himſelf." Of all the ſons of vanity, theſe are ſurely the happieſt and greateſt; for, what is greatneſs or happineſs but independence on external influences, exemption from hope or fear, and the power of ſupplying every want from the common ſtores of nature, which can neither be exhauſted nor prohibited? Such is the wiſe man of the ſtoicks; ſuch is the divinity of the epicureans; and ſuch is the flatterer of himſelf. Every other enjoyment malice may deſtroy; every other panegyrick envy may withhold; but no human power can deprive the boaſter of his own encomiums. Infamy may

hiſs,

hiſs, or contempt may growl, the hirelings of the great may follow fortune, and the votaries of truth may attend on virtue; but his pleaſures ſtill remain the ſame; he can always liſten with rapture to himſelf, and leave thoſe who dare not repoſe upon their own atteſtation, to be elated or depreſſed by chance, and toil on in the hopeleſs taſk of fixing caprice, and propitiating malice. *Rambler.*

CHAP. XXI.

PRIDE.

The cauſes of it ridiculed and expoſed.

IT is impoſſible to reflect a moment upon the natural imperfections of man, but with a heart full of the humble exclamation, *O God! what is man!———even a thing of nought*——— a poor, infirm, miſerable, ſhort-lived creature, that paſſes away like a ſhadow, and is haſtening off the ſtage where the theatrical titles and diſtinctions, and the whole maſk of pride which he has worn for a day will fall off, and leave him naked as a neglected ſlave. Send forth your imaginations, I beſeech you, to view the laſt ſcene of the greateſt and proudeſt who overawed and governed the world—ſee the

empty vapour diſappearing! One of the arrows of mortality this moment ſticks faſt within him: ſee—it forces out his life, and freezes his blood and ſpirits.

——— Approach his bed of ſtate———lift up the curtain———regard a moment with ſilence———

—— Are theſe cold hands and pale lips all that is left of him who was canoniz'd by his own pride, or made a god of by flatterers?

O my ſoul! with what dreams haſt thou been bewitched? how haſt thou been deluded by the objects thou haſt ſo eagerly graſped at?

The author adduces the argument which ariſes from the depravations of human nature, and then proceeds to conſider the advantages which any man can be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. Perhaps, ſays he, thou haſt reaſons to be proud:—for heaven's ſake, let us hear them.

Thou art well born;——then truſt me, 'twill pollute no one drop of thy blood to be humble: humility calls no man down from his rank,——diveſts not princes of their titles; it is in life, what the 'clear-obſcure' is in painting; it makes the hero ſtep forth in the canvas, and detaches his figure from the group in which he would otherwiſe ſtand confounded for ever.

If thou art rich——then ſhew the greatneſs of thy fortune,——or what is better, the greatneſs of thy ſoul in the meekneſs of thy converſation; condeſcend to men of low eſtate,——ſupport the diſtreſſed, and patronize the neglected——Be great; but let it be in conſidering riches as they are; as "talents committed to an earthen

earthen veſſel"——That thou art but the "receiver,"——and that to be obliged and be vain too,—is but the old ſoleciſm of pride and beggary, which, though they often meet,——yet ever make but an abſurd ſociety.

If thou art powerful in intereſt, and ſtandeſt deified by a ſervile tribe of dependents,——why ſhouldeſt thou be proud,—becauſe they are hungry?———Scourge me ſuch ſycophants; they have turned the heads of thouſands as well as thine.———

———But 'tis thy own dexterity and ſtrength which have gained thee this eminence:——allow it; but art thou proud, that thou ſtandeſt in a place where thou art the mark of one man's envy, another man's malice, or a third man's revenge,—where good men may be ready to ſuſpect thee, and whence bad men will be ready to pull thee down. I would be proud of nothing that is uncertain: Haman was ſo, becauſe he was admitted alone to queen Eſther's banquet; and the diſtinction raiſed him,—but it was fifty cubits higher than he ever dream'd or thought of.

Let us paſs on to the pretences of learning, &c. &c. If thou haſt a little, thou wilt be proud of it in courſe: if thou haſt much, and good ſenſe along with it, there will be no reaſon to diſpute againſt the paſſion: a beggarly parade of remnants is but a ſorry object of pride at the beſt;——but more ſo, when we can cry out upon it, as the poor man did of his hatchet,——"Alas! Maſter,——for it was borrowed."

It is treaſon to ſay the ſame of beauty,——whatever we do of the arts and ornaments with which Pride is wont to ſet it off: the weakeſt

minds

minds are moſt caught with both; being ever glad to win attention and credit from ſmall and ſlender accidents, through diſability of purchaſing them by better means. In truth, beauty has ſo many charms, one knows not how to ſpeak againſt it; and when it happens that a graceful figure is the habitation of a virtuous ſoul,—when the beauty of the face ſpeaks out the modeſty and humility of the mind, and the juſtneſs of the proportion raiſes our thoughts up to the art and wiſdom of the great Creator,—ſomething may be allowed it,——and ſomething to the embelliſhments which ſet it off;——and yet, when the whole apology is read,——it will be found at laſt, that Beauty like Truth never is ſo glorious as when it goes the plaineſt.

Simplicity is the great friend to nature, and if I would be proud of any thing in this ſilly world, it ſhould be of this honeſt alliance.

Yorick's Sermons.

CHAP. XXII.

PROCRASTINATION.

Sometimes made a ſource of happineſs.

EVERY man is ſufficiently diſcontented with ſome circumſtances of his preſent ſtate, to ſuffer his imagination to range more or leſs in queſt of future happineſs, and to fix upon

upon ſome point of time, in which he ſhall, by the removal of the inconvenience which perplexes him, or the acquiſition of advantage which he at preſent wants, find the condition of his life very much improved.

When this time, which is too often expected with great impatience, at laſt arrives, it generally comes without the bleſſing for which it was deſired; but we ſolace ourſelves with ſome new proſpect, and preſs forward again with equal eagerneſs.

It is ſome advantage to a man, in whom this temper prevails in any great degree, when he turns his hopes upon things wholly out of his own power; ſince he forbears then to precipitate his affairs, for the ſake of the great event that is to complete his felicity, and waits for the bliſsful hour, without neglecting ſuch meaſures as are neceſſary to be taken in the mean time.

I have long known a perſon of this temper, who indulged his dream of happineſs with leſs hurt to himſelf than ſuch chimerical wiſhes commonly produce, and adjuſted his ſcheme with ſuch addreſs, that his hopes were in full bloom three parts of the year, and in the other part never wholly blaſted. Many, perhaps, would be deſirous of learning by what means he procured to himſelf ſuch a cheap and laſting ſatisfaction. It was gained only by a conſtant practice of referring the removal of all his uneaſineſs to the coming of the next ſpring. If his affairs were diſordered, he could regulate them in the ſpring: if a regimen was preſcribed him, the ſpring was the proper time of purſuing it: if what he wanted was at a high price, it would fall its value in the ſpring. The

The ſpring, indeed, did often come without any of theſe effects, but he was always certain that the next would be more propitious; and was never convinced that the preſent ſpring would fail him until the middle of ſummer; for he always talked of the ſpring as coming 'till it was paſt; and when it was once paſt, every one agreed with him that it was coming.

Rambler.

CHAP. XXIII.

PROMISES.

Not to be relied on.

FAIR Promiſes are not the love that our Saviour here commands us to ſhew our enemies. And yet theſe are one ſtep and advance above the former: for many fair ſpeeches may be given, many courteous harangues uttered, and yet no promiſe made. And it is worth obſerving how ſome great ones often delude, and ſimple ones ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by general diſcourſes and expreſſions of courteſy. As, "Take you no care, I will provide for you. I will never ſee you want. Leave your buſineſs in my hands, and I will manage it with as much

or more concern than you could yourſelf. What need you inſiſt ſo much upon this or that in particular? I deſign better things for you." But all this while there is no particular determinate thing promiſed, ſo as to hold ſuch an one by any real ſolid engagement (ſuppoſing that his promiſes were ſuch); but perhaps when the next advantage comes in the way, the man is forgot, and baulked; yet ſtill theſe general ſpeeches hold as true as ever they did, and ſo will continue, notwithſtanding all particular defeats; as indeed being never calculated for any thing elſe but to keep up the expectation of eaſy perſons, to feed them for the preſent, and to fail them in the iſſue.

But now, as theſe empty gloſſing words are ſhort of Promiſes, ſo Promiſes are equally of performances. Concerning both which I ſhall ſay this, That there is no wiſe man but had rather have one Promiſe than ten thouſand fair words, and one performance than ten thouſand Promiſes. For what trouble is it to promiſe, what charge is it to ſpend a little breath, for a man to give one his word who never intends to give him any thing elſe? And yet, according to the meaſures of the world, this muſt ſometimes paſs for an high piece of love; and many poor unexperienced believing ſouls, who have more honeſty than wit, think themſelves wrapt up into the third heaven, and actually poſſeſſed of ſome notable preferment, when they can ſay, I have ſuch a great perſon's Promiſe for ſuch or ſuch a thing. Have they ſo? Let them ſee if ſuch a Promiſe will pay rent, buy land, and maintain them like gentlemen. It is at the beſt but a future contingent; for either the man may

may die, or his intereſt may fail, or his mind may change, or ten thouſand accidents may intervene. Promiſes are a diet which none ever yet thrived by, and a man may feed upon them heartily, and never break his faſt. In a word, I may ſay of human Promiſes, what expoſitors ſay of divine prophecies, that they are never underſtood till they come to be fulfilled.

But how ſpeaks the Scripture of theſe matters? Why, in Rom. xii. 20. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink." It is not, promiſe him meat and drink a week hence, that is, perhaps two days after he is dead with thirſt and hunger. He who only lives upon reverſions, and maintains himſelf with hope, and has nothing to cover him but the cloaths of dead men, and the promiſes of the living, will find juſt as much relief from them as a man in the depth of winter feels the heat of the following ſummer.

But bare Promiſes are ſo far from anſwering Chriſt's precept of loving our enemies, that if they are not realized in deeds, they may become a plague and a great calamity. For they raiſe an expectation, which, unſatisfied or defeated, is the greateſt of torments: they betray a man to a fallacious dependance, which bereaves him of the ſuccours of his other endeavours, and in the iſſue leaves him to inherit the ſhame and miſery of a diſappointment, and unable to ſay any thing elſe for himſelf, but he was credulous and the promiſer falſe. *South.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

PROPERTY.

The origin and right of exclusive Property explained.

THERE is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property; or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in a total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the original and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favour, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow-creatures from a determinate

nate ſpot of ground, becauſe his father had done ſo before him; or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain poſſeſſion, ſhould be entitled to tell the reſt of the world which of them ſhould enjoy it after him. Theſe enquiries, it muſt be owned, would be uſeleſs and even troubleſome in common life. It is well if the maſs of mankind will obey the laws when made, without ſcrutinizing too nicely into the reaſons of making them. But, when law is to be conſidered not only as matter of practice, but alſo as a rational ſcience, it cannot be improper or uſeleſs to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of theſe poſitive conſtitutions of ſociety.

In the beginning of the world, we are informed by holy writ, the all-bountiful Creator gave to man, "dominion over all the earth; and over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth*." This is the only true and ſolid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphyſical notions may have been ſtarted by fanciful writers upon this ſubject. The earth therefore, and all things therein, are the general property of all mankind, excluſive of other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator. And, while the earth continued bare of inhabitants, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that all was in common among them, and that every one took from the public ſtock to his own uſe ſuch things as his immediate neceſſities required.

* *Gen.* i. 28.

Theſe

Theſe general notions of property were then ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of human life; and might perhaps ſtill have anſwered them, had it been poſſible for mankind to have remained in a ſtate of primaeval ſimplicity: as may be collected from the manners of many American nations when firſt diſcovered by the Europeans; and from the ancient method of living among the firſt Europeans themſelves, if we may credit either the memorials of them preſerved in the golden age of the poets, or the uniform accounts given by hiſtorians of thoſe times wherein "*erant omnia communia et indiviſa omnibus, veluti unum cunctis patrimonium eſſet.**" Not that this communion of goods ſeems ever to have been applicable, even in the earlieſt ages, to aught but the ſubſtance of the thing; nor could be extended to the uſe of it. For, by the law of nature and reaſon, he who firſt began to uſe it acquired therein a kind of tranſient property, that laſted ſo long as he was uſing it, and no longer †: or, to ſpeak with greater preciſion, the right of poſſeſſion continued for the ſame time only that the act of poſſeſſion laſted. Thus the ground was in common, and no part of it was the permanent property of any man in particular: yet whoever was in the occupation of any determinate ſpot of it, for reſt, for ſhade, or the like, acquired for the time a ſort of ownerſhip, from which it would have been unjuſt, and contrary to the law of nature, to have driven him by force; but the inſtant that he quitted the uſe or occupation of it, another might ſeize it without injuſtice. Thus alſo a

* *Juſtin. l.* 43. *c.* 1. † *Barbeyr. Puff. l.* 4. *c.* 4.

vine

vine or other tree might be ſaid to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce; and yet any private individual might gain the ſole property of the fruit, which he had gathered for his own repaſt. A doctrine well illuſtrated by Cicero, who compares the world to a great theatre, which is common to the public, and yet the place which any man has taken is for the time his own §.

But when mankind increaſed in number, craft, and ambition, it became neceſſary to entertain conceptions of more permanent dominion: and to appropriate to individuals not the immediate uſe only, but the very ſubſtance of the thing to be uſed. Otherwiſe innumerable tumults muſt have ariſen, and the good order of the world been continually broken and diſturbed, while a variety of perſons were ſtriving who ſhould get the firſt occupation of the ſame thing, or diſputing which of them had actually gained it. As human life alſo grew more and more refined, abundance of conveniences were deviſed to render it more eaſy, commodious, and agreeable; as, habitations for ſhelter and ſafety, and raiment for warmth and decency. But no man would be at the trouble to provide either, ſo long as he had only an uſufructuary property in them, which was to ceaſe the inſtant that he quitted poſſeſſion;—if, as ſoon as he walked out of his tent, or pulled off his garment, the next ſtranger who came by would have a right to inhabit the one, and to wear the other. In the caſe of habitations in particular, it was natural

§ *Quemadmodum theatrum, cum commune, ſit recte, tamen dici poteſt, ejus eſſe eum locum quem quiſque occuparit. De Fin. l. 3. c. 20.*

to

to obſerve, that even the brute creation, to whom every thing elſe was in common, maintained a kind of permanent property in their dwellings, eſpecially for the protection of their young; that the birds of the air had neſts, and the beaſts of the field had caverns, the invaſion of which they eſteemed a very flagrant injuſtice, and would ſacrifice their lives to preſerve them. Hence a property was ſoon eſtabliſhed in every man's houſe and homeſtall; which ſeem to have been originally mere temporary huts or moveable cabins, ſuited to the deſign of Providence for more ſpeedily peopling the earth, and ſuited to the wandering life of their owners, before any extenſive property in the ſoil or ground was eſtabliſhed. And there can be no doubt, but that moveables of every kind became ſooner appropriated than the permanent ſubſtantial ſoil; partly becauſe they were more ſuſceptible of a long occupance, which might be continued for months together without any ſenſible interruption, and at length by uſage ripen into an eſtabliſhed right; but principally becauſe few of them could be fit for uſe, till improved and meliorated by the bodily labour of the occupant: which bodily labour, beſtowed upon any ſubject which before lay in common to all men, is univerſally allowed to give the faireſt and moſt reaſonable title to an excluſive property therein.

The article of food was a more immediate call, and therefore a more early conſideration. Such as were not contented with the ſpontaneous product of the earth, ſought for a more ſolid refreſhment in the fleſh of beaſts which they obtained by hunting. But the frequent diſappointments,

ments, incident to that method of provision, induced them to gather together such animals as were of a more tame and sequacious nature; and to establish a permanent property in their flocks and herds, in order to sustain themselves in a less precarious manner, partly by the milk of the dams, and partly by the flesh of the young. The support of these their cattle made the article of water also a very important point. And therefore the book of Genesis (the most venerable monument of antiquity, considered merely with a view to history) will furnish us with frequent instances of violent contentions concerning wells; the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in such places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common. Thus we find Abraham, who was but a sojourner, asserting his right to a well in the country of Abimelech, and exacting an oath for his security, "because he had digged that well*." And Isaac, about ninety years afterwards, reclaimed this his father's property; and, after much contention with the Philistines, was suffered to enjoy it in peace†.

All this while the soil and pasture of the earth remained still in common as before, and open to every occupant: except perhaps in the neighbourhood of towns, where the necessity of a sole and exclusive property in lands (for the sake of agriculture) was earlier felt, and therefore more readily complied with. Otherwise, when the multitude of men and cattle had consumed every convenience on one spot of ground, it was

* *Gen.* xxi. 30. † *Gen.* xxvi. 15. 18. *&c.*

deemed

deemed a natural right to ſeize upon and occupy ſuch other lands as would more eaſily ſupply their neceſſities. This practice is ſtill retained among the wild and uncultivated nations that have never been formed into civil ſtates, like the Tartars and others in the Eaſt; where the climate itſelf, and the boundleſs extent of their territory, conſpire to retain them ſtill in the ſame ſavage ſtate of vagrant liberty, which was univerſal in the earlieſt ages, and which Tacitus informs us continued among the Germans till the decline of the Roman empire *. We have alſo a ſtriking example of the ſame kind in the hiſtory of Abraham and his nephew Lot †. When their joint ſubſtance became ſo great, that paſture and other conveniencies grew ſcarce, the natural conſequence was, that a ſtrife aroſe between their ſervants; ſo that it was no longer practicable to dwell together. This contention Abraham thus endeavoured to compoſe: "Let there be no ſtrife, I pray thee, between thee and me. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyſelf, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then will I go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then will I go to the left." This plainly implies an acknowledged right in either to occupy whatever ground he pleaſed, that was not pre-occupied by other tribes. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot choſe him

* *Colunt diſcreti et diverſi; ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. De mor. Germ.* 16.

† *Gen.* xiii.

all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed eaſt; and Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan."

Upon the ſame principle was founded the right of migration, or ſending colonies to find out new habitations, when the mother-country was overcharged with inhabitants; which was practiſed as well by the Phoenicians and Greeks, as the Germans, Scythians, and other northern people. And ſo long as it was confined to the ſtocking and cultivation of deſart uninhabited countries, it kept ſtrictly within the limits of the law of nature. But how far the ſeizing on countries already peopled, and driving out or maſſacring the innocent and defenceleſs natives, merely becauſe they differed from their invaders in language, in religion, in cuſtoms, in government, or in colour; how far ſuch a conduct was conſonant to nature, to reaſon, or to chriſtianity, deſerved well to be conſidered by thoſe, who have rendered their names immortal by thus civilizing mankind.

As the world by degrees grew more populous, it daily became more difficult to find out new ſpots to inhabit, without encroaching upon former occupants; and, by conſtantly occupying the ſame individual ſpot, the fruits of the earth were conſumed, and its ſpontaneous produce deſtroyed, without any proviſion for a future ſupply or ſucceſſion. It therefore became neceſſary to purſue ſome regular method of providing a conſtant ſubſiſtence; and this neceſſity produced, or at leaſt promoted and encouraged, the art of agriculture. And the art of agriculture, by a regular connexion and conſequence, introduced and eſtabliſhed the idea of a more

a more permanent property in the ſoil, than had hitherto been received and adopted. It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in ſufficient quantities, without the aſſiſtance of tillage: but who would be at the pains of tilling it, if another might watch an opportunity to ſeize upon and enjoy the product of his induſtry, art, and labour? Had not therefore a ſeparate property in lands, as moveables, been veſted in ſome individuals, the world muſt have continued a foreſt, and men have been mere animals of prey; which, according to ſome philoſophers, is the genuine ſtate of nature. Whereas now (ſo graciouſly has Providence interwoven our duty and our happineſs together) the reſult of this very neceſſity has been the ennobling of the human ſpecies, by giving it opportunities of improving its rational faculties, as well as of exerting its natural. Neceſſity begat property; and, in order to inſure that property, recourſe was had to civil ſociety, which brought along with it a long train of inſeparable concomitants; ſtates, government, laws, puniſhments, and the public exerciſe of religious duties. Thus connected together, it was found that a part only of ſociety was ſufficient to provide, by their manual labour, for the neceſſary ſubſiſtence of all; and leiſure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent uſeful arts, and to lay the foundations of ſcience.

The only queſtion remaining is, how this property became actually veſted; or what it is that gave a man an excluſive right to retain in a permanent manner that ſpecific land, which before belonged generally to every body, but par-

ticularly to nobody. And, as we before obſerved that occupancy gave the right to the temporary uſe of the ſoil, ſo it is agreed upon all hands, that occupancy gave alſo the original right to the permanent property in the ſubſtance of the earth itſelf; which excludes every one elſe but the owner from the uſe of it. There is indeed ſome difference among the writers on natural law, concerning the reaſon why occupancy ſhould convey this right, and inveſt one with this abſolute property: Grotius and Puffendorf inſiſting, that this right of occupancy is founded upon a tacit and implied aſſent of all mankind, that the firſt occupant ſhould become the owner; and Barbeyrac, Titius, Mr. Locke, and others, holding, that there is no ſuch implied aſſent, neither is it neceſſary that there ſhould be; for that the very act of occupancy, alone, being a degree of bodily labour, is from a principle of natural juſtice, without any conſent or compact, ſufficient of itſelf to gain a title. A diſpute that ſavours too much of nice and ſcholaſtic refinement! However, both ſides agree in this, that occupancy is the thing by which the title was in fact originally gained; every man ſeizing to his own continued uſe ſuch ſpots of ground as he found moſt agreeable to his own convenience, provided he found them unoccupied by any one elſe.

Dr. Blackſtone's Commentaries.

SECT.

CHAP. XXV.

PROSPERITY.

Accidental.

WHEN a man caſts a look upon the world, and ſees, contrary to all his gueſſes and expectations, what different fates attend the lives of men,—how oft it happens in the world, that there is not even bread to the wiſe, nor riches to men of underſtanding, &c.——he is apt to conclude with a ſigh upon it,——in the words,—tho' not in the ſenſe of the wiſe man,—that time and chance happeneth to them all.—That time and chance,—apt ſeaſons and fit conjunctures have the greateſt ſway, in the turns and diſpoſals of men's fortunes. And that, as theſe lucky hits (as they are called) happen to be for, or againſt a man —they either open the way to his advancement againſt all obſtacles,—or block it up againſt all helps and attempts. That, as the text intimates, neither *wiſdom*, nor *underſtanding*, nor *ſkill* ſhall be able to ſurmount them.

However widely we may differ in our reaſonings upon this obſervation of Solomon's, the authority of the obſervation is ſtrong beyond doubt, and the evidence given of it in all ages ſo alternately confirmed by examples and complaints, as to leave the fact itſelf unqueſtionable,—That things are carried on in this world, ſometimes ſo contrary to all our reaſonings, and the ſeeming probabilities of ſucceſs,—that even, the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battle

to the ſtrong,—nay, what is ſtranger ſtill,—not yet bread to the wiſe, who ſhould laſt ſtand in want of it,—not yet riches to men of underſtanding, who you would think beſt qualified to acquire them,—nor yet favour to men of ſkill, whoſe merit and pretences bid the faireſt for it,—but that there are ſome ſecret and unſeen workings in human affairs, which baffle all our endeavours,—and turn aſide the courſe of things in ſuch a manner,—that the moſt likely cauſes diſappoint and fail of producing for us the effects which we wiſhed and naturally expected from them.—You will ſee a man, of whom, was you to form a conjecture from the appearances of things in his favor,—you would ſay was ſetting out in the world, with the faireſt proſpect of making his fortune in it;—with all the advantages of birth to recommend him,—of perſonal merit to ſpeak for him,—and of friends to help and puſh him forwards: you will behold him, notwithſtanding this, diſappointed in every reſpect you might naturally have looked for, from them;—every ſtep he takes towards his advancement, ſomething inviſible ſhall pull him back,—ſome unforeſeen obſtacle ſhall riſe up perpetually in his way, and keep there.—In every application he makes,—ſome untoward circumſtance ſhall blaſt it.—He ſhall riſe early,—late take reſt,—and eat the bread of carefulneſs,—yet ſome happier man ſhall ſtill riſe up, and ever ſtep in before him, and leave him ſtruggling to the end of his life, in the very ſame place, in which he firſt begun it.

The hiſtory of a ſecond, ſhall in all reſpects be the contraſt to this. He ſhall come into the world,

world, with the moſt unpromiſing appearance,—ſhall ſet forwards without fortune,—without friends,—without talents to procure him either the one or the other. Nevertheleſs, you will ſee this clouded proſpect brighten up inſenſibly, unaccountably before him; every thing preſented in his way, ſhall turn out beyond his expectations:—in ſpight of that chain of unſurmountable difficulties which firſt threatened him,—time and chance ſhall open him a way,—a ſeries of ſucceſsful occurrences ſhall lead him by the hand to the ſummit of honour and fortune, and in a word, without giving him the pains of thinking, or the credit of projecting it, ſhall place him in ſafe poſſeſſion of all that ambition could wiſh for.

The hiſtories of the lives and fortunes of men are full of inſtances of this nature,—where favourable times and lucky accidents have done for them, what wiſdom or ſkill could not: and there is ſcarce any one who has lived long in the world, who upon looking backwards will not diſcover ſuch a mixture of theſe in the many ſucceſsful turns which have happened in his life, as to leave him very little reaſon to diſpute againſt the fact, and, I ſhould hope, as little upon the concluſions to be drawn from it. Some, indeed, from a ſuperficial view of this repreſentation of things, have atheiſtically inferred,—that becauſe there was ſo much of lottery in this life,—and mere caſualty ſeemed to have ſuch a ſhare in the diſpoſal of our affairs,—that the providence of God ſtood neuter and unconcerned in their ſeveral workings, leaving them to the mercy of time and chance, to be furthered or diſappointed as ſuch blind agents directed. Whereas in truth

the very oppoſite concluſion follows. For conſider,—if a ſuperior intelligent power did not ſometimes croſs and over-rule events in this world,--then our policies and deſigns in it, would always anſwer according to the wiſdom and ſtratagem in which they were laid, and every cauſe, in the courſe of things, would produce its natural effect without variation. Now, as this is not the caſe, it neceſſarily follows from Solomon's reaſoning, that, if the race is not to the ſwift, if knowledge and learning do not always ſecure men from want,—nor care and induſtry always make men rich,—nor art and ſkill infallibly raiſe men high in the world;—that there is ſome other cauſe which mingles itſelf in human affairs, and governs and turns them as it pleaſes; which cauſe can be no other than the firſt cauſe of all things, and the ſecret and over-ruling providence of that Almighty God, who though his dwelling is ſo high, yet humbleth himſelf to behold the things that are done in earth, raiſing up the poor out of the duſt, and lifting the beggar from the dunghill, and, contrary to all hopes, ſetting him with princes, even with the princes of his people; which, by the way, was the caſe of David, who makes the acknowledgment!—And no doubt—one reaſon, why God has ſelected to his own diſpoſal, ſo many inſtances as this, where events have run counter to all probabilities,—was to give teſtimony to his providence in governing the world, and to engage us to a conſideration and dependance upon it, for the event and ſucceſs of all our undertakings *. For undoubtedly—as I ſaid,--it ſhould ſeem but ſuitable

* Vid. Tillotſon's ſermon on this ſubject.

to

to nature's law, that the race ſhould ever be to the ſwift,—and the battle to the ſtrong;—it is reaſonable that the beſt contrivances and means ſhould have beſt ſucceſs;—and ſince it often falls out otherwiſe in the caſe of man, where the wiſeeſt projects are overthrown,—and the moſt hopeful means are blaſted, and time and chance happens to all;—you muſt call in the Deity to untye this knot:—for though at ſundry times—ſundry events fall out,—which we who look no further than the events themſelves, call chance, becauſe they fall out quite contrary both to our intentions and our hopes,—though at the ſame time, in reſpect to God's providence over-ruling in theſe events; it were profane to call them chance, for they are pure deſignation, and though inviſible, are ſtill the regular diſpenſations of the ſuperintending power of that Almighty Being, from whom all the laws and powers of nature are derived;—who, as he has appointed,—ſo holds them as inſtruments in his hands, and without invading the liberty and free will of his creatures, can turn the paſſions and deſires of their hearts to fulfil his own righteouſneſs, and work ſuch effects in human affairs which to us ſeem merely *caſual*,—but to him, certain and determined, and what his infinite wiſdom ſees neceſſary to be brought about for the government, and preſervation of the world, over which Providence perpetually preſides.

Sterne's Sermons.

CHAP. XXVI.

PROVIDENCE.

SECT. I.

The equal dealings of Providence demonſtrated with regard to the happy and the miſerable here below.

N. B. This diſcourſe is ſuppoſed to be delivered in a priſon by the Vicar of Wakefield to his fellow priſoners.

MY friends, my children, and fellow-ſufferers, when I reflect on the diſtribution of good and evil here below, I find that much has been given man to enjoy, yet ſtill more to ſuffer. Though we ſhould examine the whole world, we ſhall not find one man ſo happy as to have nothing left to wiſh for; but we daily ſee thouſands who by ſuicide ſhew us they have nothing left to hope. In this life then it appears that we cannot be entirely bleſt; but yet we may be completely miſerable!

Why man ſhould thus feel pain, why our wretchedneſs ſhould be requiſite in the formation of univerſal felicity, why, when all other ſyſtems are made perfect only by the perfection of their ſubordinate parts, the great ſyſtem ſhould require for its perfection, parts that are not only ſubordinate to others, but imperfect in themſelves? Theſe are queſtions that never can be explained, and might be uſeleſs if known. On this ſubject Providence has thought fit to elude

elude our curioſity, ſatisfied with granting us motives to conſolation.

In this ſituation, man has called in the friendly aſſiſtance of philoſophy; and heaven ſeeing the incapacity of that to conſole him, has given him the aid of religion. The conſolations of philoſophy are very amuſing, but often fallacious. It tells us that life is filled with comforts, if we will but enjoy them; and on the other hand, that though we unavoidably have miſeries here, life is ſhort, and they will ſoon be over. Thus do theſe conſolations deſtroy each other; for if life is a place of comfort, its ſhortneſs muſt be miſery, and if it be long, our griefs are protracted. Thus philoſophy is weak; but religion comforts in an higher ſtrain. Man is here, it tells us, fitting up his mind, and preparing it for another abode. When the good man leaves the body, and is all a glorious mind, he will find he has been making himſelf a heaven of happineſs here, while the wretch that has been maimed and contaminated by his vices, ſhrinks from his body with terror, and finds that he has anticipated the vengeance of heaven. To religion then we muſt hold in every circumſtance of life for our trueſt comfort; for if already we are happy, it is a pleaſure to think that we can make that happineſs unending, and if we are miſerable, it is very conſoling to think that there is a place of reſt. Thus to the fortunate religion holds out a continuance of bliſs, to the wretched a change from pain.

But though religion is very kind to all men, it has promiſed peculiar rewards to the unhappy; the ſick, the naked, the houſeleſs, the heavy-laden, and the priſoner, have ever moſt fre-

quent promiſes in our ſacred law. The author of our religion every where profeſſes himſelf the wretch's friend, and, unlike the falſe ones of this world, beſtows all his careſſes upon the forlorn. The unthinking have cenſured this as partiality, as a preference without merit to deſerve it. But they never reflect that it is not in the power even of heaven itſelf to make the offer of unceaſing felicity as great a gift to the happy as to the miſerable. To the firſt eternity is but a ſingle bleſſing, ſince at moſt it but encreaſes what they already poſſeſs. To the latter it is a double advantage; for it diminiſhes their pain here, and rewards them with heavenly bliſs hereafter. *Goldſmith's Vicar of Wakefield.*

SECT. II.

That from the nature of pleaſure and pain, the wretched muſt be repaid the balance of their ſufferings in the life hereafter.

BUT Providence is in another reſpect kinder to the poor than the rich; for as it thus makes the life after death more deſirable, ſo it ſmooths the paſſage there. The wretched have long familiarity with every face of terror. The man of ſorrows lays himſelf quietly down, he has no poſſeſſions to regret, and but few ties to ſtop his departure: he feels only nature's pang in the final ſeparation, and this is no way greater than he has often fainted under before; for after a certain degree of pain, every new breach that death opens in the conſtitution, nature kindly covers with inſenſibility. Thus

Thus Providence has given the wretched two advantages over the happy in this life, greater felicity in dying, and in heaven all that ſuperiority of pleaſure which ariſes from contraſted enjoyment. And this ſuperiority, my friends, is no ſmall advantage, and ſeems to be one of the pleaſures of the poor man in the parable; for though he was already in heaven, and felt all the raptures it could give, yet it was mentioned as an addition to his happineſs, that he had once been wretched and now was comforted, that he had known what it was to be miſerable, and now felt what it was to be happy.

Thus, my friends, you ſee religion does what philoſophy could never do: it ſhews the equal dealings of heaven to the happy and the unhappy, and levels all human enjoyments to nearly the ſame ſtandard. It gives to both rich and poor the ſame happineſs hereafter, and equal hopes to aſpire after it; but if the rich have the advantage of enjoying pleaſure here, the poor have the endleſs ſatisfaction of knowing what it was once to be miſerable, when crowned with endleſs felicity hereafter; and even though this ſhould be called a ſmall advantage, yet being an eternal one, it muſt make up by duration what the temporal happineſs of the great may have exceeded by intenſeneſs.

Theſe are therefore the conſolations which the wretched have peculiar to themſelves, and in which they are above the reſt of mankind; in other reſpects they are below them. They who would know the miſeries of the poor muſt ſee life and endure it. To declaim on the temporal advantages they enjoy, is only repeating what

what none either believe or practiſe. The men who have the neceſſaries of living are not poor, and they who want them muſt be miſerable. Yes, my friends, we muſt be miſerable. No vain efforts of a refined imagination can ſooth the wants of nature, can give elaſtic ſweetneſs to the dank vapour of a dungeon, or eaſe to the throbbings of a woe-worn heart. Let the philoſopher from his couch of ſoftneſs tell us that we can reſiſt all theſe. Alas! the effort by which we reſiſt them is ſtill the greateſt pain! Death is ſlight, and any man may ſuſtain it; but torments are dreadful, and theſe no man can endure.

To us then, my friends, the promiſes of happineſs in heaven ſhould be peculiarly dear; for if our reward be in this life alone, we are then indeed of all men the moſt miſerable. When I look round theſe gloomy walls, made to terrify, as well as to confine us; this light that only ſerves to ſhew the horrors of the place; thoſe ſhackles that tyranny has impoſed, or crimes made neceſſary; when I ſurvey theſe emaciated looks, and hear thoſe groans, O my friends, what a glorious exchange would heaven be for theſe. To fly through regions unconfined as air, to baſk in the ſunſhine of eternal bliſs, to carrol over endleſs hymns of praiſe, to have no maſter to threaten or inſult us, but the form of goodneſs himſelf for ever in our eyes; when I think of theſe things, death becomes the meſſenger of very glad tidings; his ſharpeſt arrow becomes the ſtaff of my ſupport; when I think of theſe things, what is there in life worth having; when I think of theſe things, what is there that ſhould not be ſpurned away: kings

in

in their palaces ſhould groan for ſuch advantages; but we, humbled as we are, ſhould yearn for them.

And ſhall theſe things be ours? Ours they will certainly be, if we but try for them; and what is a comfort, we are ſhut out from many temptations that would retard our purſuit. Only let us try for them, and they will certainly be ours, and what is ſtill a comfort, ſhortly too; for if we look back on paſt life, it appears but a very ſhort ſpan, and whatever we may think of the reſt of life, it will yet be found of leſs duration; as we grow older, the days ſeem to grow ſhorter, and our intimacy with time, ever leſſens the perception of his ſtay. Then let us take comfort now, for we ſhall ſoon be at our journey's end; we ſhall ſoon lay down the heavy burthen laid by heaven upon us; and though death, the only friend of the wretched, for a little while mocks the weary traveller with the view, and like his horizon, ſtill flies before him; yet the time will certainly and ſhortly come, when we ſhall ceaſe from our toil; when the luxurious great ones of the world ſhall no more tread us to the earth; when we ſhall think with pleaſure on our ſufferings below; when we ſhall be ſurrounded with all our friends, or ſuch as deſerved our friendſhip; when our bliſs ſhall be unutterable, and ſtill, to crown all, unending. *Ibid.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

PRUDENCE.

Its uſes and advantages enumerated.

PRUDENCE is of more frequent uſe than any other intellectual quality; it is exerted on ſlight occaſions, and called into act by the curſory buſineſs of common life.

Whatever is univerſally neceſſary, has been granted to mankind on eaſy terms. Prudence, as it is always wanted, is without great difficulty obtained. It requires neither extenſive view nor profound ſearch, but forces itſelf, by ſpontaneous impulſe, upon a mind neither great nor buſy, neither ingroſſed by vaſt deſigns nor diſtracted by multiplicity of attention.

Prudence operates on life in the ſame manner as rules on compoſition; it produces vigilance rather than elevation, rather prevents loſs than procures advantage; and often eſcapes miſcarriages, but ſeldom reaches either power or honour. It quenches that ardour of enterprize, by which every thing is done that can claim praiſe or admiration; and repreſſes that generous temerity which often fails and often ſucceeds. Rules may obviate faults, but can never confer beauties; and Prudence keeps life ſafe, but does not often make it happy. The world is not amazed

mazed with prodigies of excellence, but when Wit tramples upon Rules, and Magnanimity breaks the chains of Prudence. *Johnſon's Idler.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

PRUDERY.

A proof of a defect of ſenſe.

THAT a prudiſh behaviour is never ſincere, I will not take upon me to affirm. It may ariſe ſometimes from an original frigidity, or ſtrange inſenſibility of make. I ſpeak not of the diſlikes that women conceive to particular men, while from others they are by no means unſuſceptible of kind impreſſions. Neither do I ſpeak of thoſe females whoſe firſt addreſs is frequently forbidding, occaſioned by a peculiar reſervedneſs of manner rather than temper, nor at all incompatible with good affection; ſince it evidently wears off in a little while, and that exceſſive baſhfulneſs gives place, on proper encouragement, to a carriage equally courteous and modeſt. But where a woman bears amongſt candid ſpirits the character of a prude, there I muſt confeſs myſelf tempted to

to doubt both her honeſty and her underſtanding.

This we are ſure of, that it is very common for people to affect moſt the appearance of thoſe virtues which they leaſt poſſeſs. What they want in reality they would fain ſupply in ſhow, afraid of ſuſpicion, where they are conſcious of guilt; whereas thoſe that are ſound at heart, are ſeldom apprehenſive of being ſuſpected. "A good man ſhall be ſatisfied from himſelf," and generally leaves others to collect his principles from his practice. An honeſt confidence in the rectitude of his own intentions begets a ſimplicity of manners, that deſpiſes oſtentation in all caſes, and ſuperſedes profeſſion in moſt. I do not mean religious profeſſion, which a good man will never think unneceſſary, though he will always make it with modeſty. In ſhort; true virtue, whether male or female, is, like the ſun, beſt ſeen in its own light.

Of a defect of ſenſe I look on prudery as an indiſputable proof. It never ſucceeds in its attempts to impoſe. A woman of this character is conſidered by our ſex as a hypocrite, by yours as a hypocrite and a ſpy at the ſame time. Both are incited to a keener inſpection into her conduct. On the leaſt failure, both are provoked to ſharper reproach; and ſhould the ungracious diſſembler at laſt drop her diſguiſe altogether, the triumph over her is univerſal: nor does the world ever forget a miſcarriage which was preceded by pretenſions to ſuperior ſtrictneſs. In any caſe ſhe is a diſagreeable creature, whom none can love, and whom moſt will ſhun. How juſt the words of an elegant writer on this ſubject!

"Virtue

"Virtue is amiable, mild, ſerene;
Without all beauty, and all peace within:
The honour of a Prude is rage and ſtorm;
'Tis uglineſs in its moſt frightful form."

Should ſuch a woman live to grow old in the ſingle ſtate, ſhe will be regarded with a mixture of hatred and contempt. When I ſay this, every one will recollect the imputation which has been ſo frequently brought againſt Unmarried females at that age. Is it an unpleaſant idea? The inference is plain: Let it be your care to lay in now ſuch a ſtore of good humour and chriſtian meekneſs, as mingling with other agreeable acquiſitions, may prevent the advance of life from ſpoiling your chearfulneſs, or robbing you of that benignity which communicates a grace to every condition, and of that conſequence which youth and beauty alone cannot preſerve. Eſtabliſh it betimes as a certain maxim, that to be married is neither the one, nor the chief thing needful. Are all in that ſtate happy? Or muſt ſhe be neceſſarily unhappy, who is not in that ſtate? May not a ſingle woman be wiſe and virtuous? and if wiſe and virtuous, will ſhe not be contented? and if contented, is ſhe not happy in the beſt ſenſe, as much ſo as can be expected in the mixed and variable lot of mortals? Is there any thing wrong in this reaſoning? If it be right now, will it not be right ten, fifteen, twenty years hence? And in the mean while do you not ſee women in the ſituation ſuppoſed, who from the goodneſs of their temper, breeding, and underſtanding, are objects of tender regard; a regard ſo much the more

more valuable, that it is entertained by the worthieſt of their acquaintance, that it is no longer a tribute levied by the power of beauty, or aided by the influence of cuſtom, but the pure reward of genuine merit, a merit tried by time, and matured by reflection?

Sermons to Young Women.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. I.

QUALIFICATIONS.

No great ones neceſſary to recommend to great tables.

NO man has been ſo happy in gaining and keeping the privilege of living at luxurious houſes as Guloſulus, who, after thirty years of continual revelry, has now eſtabliſhed, by uncontroverted preſcription, his claim to partake of every entertainment, and whoſe preſence they who aſpire to the praiſe of a ſumptuous table, are careful to procure on a day of importance, by ſending the invitation a fortnight before.

Guloſulus

Guloſulus entered the world without any eminent degree of merit; but was careful to frequent houſes where perſons of rank reſorted. By being often ſeen, he became in time known; and from ſitting in the ſame room, was ſuffered to mix in idle converſation, or aſſiſted to fill up a vacant hour, when better amuſement was not readily to be had. From the Coffee-houſe he was ſometimes taken away to dinner; and as no man refuſes the acquaintance of him whom he ſees admitted to familiarity by others of equal dignity, when he had been met at a few tables, he with leſs difficulty found the way to more, till at laſt he was regularly expected to appear wherever preparations are made for a feaſt, within the circuit of his acquaintance.

When he was thus by accident initiated in luxury, he felt in himſelf no inclination to retire from a life of ſo much pleaſure, and therefore very ſeriouſly conſidered how he might continue it. Great qualities or uncommon accompliſhments he did not find neceſſary to his deſign; for he had already ſeen that they whoſe merit is allowed, rather enforce reſpect than attract fondneſs; and as he thought no folly greater than that of loſing a dinner for any other gratification, he often congratulated himſelf, that he had none of that diſguſting excellence which impreſſes awe upon greatneſs, and condemns its poſſeſſors to the ſociety of thoſe who are wiſe or brave and indigent as themſelves.

Guloſulus having never allotted much of his time to books or meditation, had no opinion in philoſophy or politicks, and was not in danger of injuring his intereſt by dogmatical poſitions or violent contradictions. If a diſpute aroſe, he took

took care to liſten with earneſt attention; and when either ſpeaker grew vehement and loud, turned towards him with eager quickneſs, and uttered a ſhort phraſe of admiration, as if ſurpriſed by ſuch cogency of argument as he had never known before. By this ſilent conceſſion he generally preſerved in either controvertiſt ſuch a conviction of his own ſuperiority as inclined him rather to pity than irritate his adverſary, and prevented thoſe outrages which are ſometimes produced by the rage of defeat or petulance of triumph.

Guloſulus was never embarraſſed but when he was required to declare his ſentiments before he had been able to diſcover to which ſide the maſter of the houſe inclined, for it was his invariable rule to adapt the notions of thoſe that invited him.

It ſometimes happens that the inſolence of wealth breaks into contemptuouſneſs, or the turbulence of wine requires a vent; and Guloſulus ſeldoms fails of being ſingled out on ſuch emergencies, as one on whom any experiment of ribaldry may be ſafely tried. Sometimes his lordſhip finds himſelf inclined to exhibit a ſpecimen of raillery for the diverſion of his gueſts, and Guloſulus always ſupplies him with a ſubject of merriment. But he has learned to conſider rudeneſs and indignities as familiarities that intitle him to greater freedom: He comforts himſelf, that thoſe who treat and inſult him pay for their laughter, and obſerves that he keeps his money while they enjoy their jeſt.

His chief policy conſiſts in ſelecting ſome diſh from every courſe, and recommending it to the company with an air ſo deciſive, that no one

one ventures to contradict him. By this practice he acquires at a feaſt a kind of dictatorial authority; his taſte becomes the ſtandard of pickles and ſeaſoning, and he is venerated by the profeſſors of epicuriſm, as the only man who underſtands the niceties of cookery.

Whenever a new ſauce is imported, or any innovation made in the culinary ſyſtem, he procures the earlieſt intelligence, and the moſt authentick receipt; and by communicating his knowledge under proper injunctions of ſecrecy, gains a right of taſting his own diſh whenever it is prepared, that he may tell whether his directions have been fully underſtood.

By this method of life Guloſulus has ſo impreſſed on his imagination the dignity of feaſting, that he has no other topic of talk, or ſubject of meditation. Others may prate of tropicks and the Zodiac, his calendar is a bill of fare; he meaſures the year by ſucceſſive dainties. The only common-places of his memory are his meals; and if you aſk him at what time an event happened, he conſiders whether he heard it after a dinner of turbot, or veniſon. He knows, indeed, that thoſe who value themſelves upon ſenſe, learning, or piety, ſpeak of him with contempt; but he conſiders them as wretches envious or ignorant, who do not know his happineſs, or wiſh to ſupplant him, and declares to his friends that he is fully ſatisfied with his own conduct, ſince he has fed every day on twenty diſhes, and yet doubled his eſtate. *Rambler.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

QUACKS.

Injurious to Society.

AS no man more abhors the maxim which affirms the lawfulneſs of doing evil to produce good, than myſelf, I ſhall ſpare no falſehood becauſe it has been rendered ſubſervient to political purpoſes, and concur in the deception of mankind, tho' for the ſervice of the ſtate.

When the public liberty has been thought in ſo much danger as to make it neceſſary to expoſe life in its defence, we have been told that life is the inferior bleſſing; that death is more eligible than ſlavery; and that to hold the contrary opinion, is not only abſurd but infamous.

This however, whether the rant of enthuſiaſm or the inſinuation of cunning, contradicts the voice of reaſon and the general conſent of mankind. The far greater part of the human ſpecies are confeſſed to live in a ſtate of ſlaviſh ſubjection; and there is ſcarce any part of the globe where that which an Engliſhman calls Liberty is to be found: and yet it does not appear, that there is any place in which the attachment to life is diſſolved, or that deſpotiſm and tyranny ever provoked ſuicide to depopulate their dominions. It may be ſaid that wretches who have never been free, ſuffer patiently becauſe they are ſtrangers to enjoyment; but it muſt be remembered, that our heroes of liberty, whether Bucks or Bloods

or

er of whatever other denomination, when by ſome creditor of ſlaviſh principles they have been locked up in a priſon, never yet petitioned to be hanged.

But tho' to every individual life is of greater value than liberty, yet health and eaſe are of greater value than life: though jollity may ſometimes be found in the cell of the priſoner, it never enters the chamber of the ſick: over pain and ſickneſs, the ſweetneſs of muſick, the ſprightlineſs of humour, and the delicates of luxury, have no power. Without health Life is miſery; and death, as it removes poſitive evil, is at leaſt a negative good. Among the many advantages, therefore, which are confeſſed to be peculiar to Great Britain, the higheſt ſurely is the number of medicines that are diſpenſed in this metropolis; medicines which infallibly remove every diſeaſe by which the value of life is annihilated, and death rendered a bleſſing.

It has been obſerved by naturaliſts, that every climate produces plants peculiarly adapted to remove its peculiar diſeaſes; and by moraliſts, that good and evil are univerſally diſtributed with an equal hand: my ſubject affords a remarkable inſtance of the truth of theſe obſervations: for without this extraordinary interpoſition of medical power, we ſhould not only be the moſt loathſome, debilitated, and diſeaſed of all mortals; but our country would ſoon become deſolate, or, what is yet worſe, a province to France.

Of this no doubt will remain, if it be conſidered, that the medicines, from which we are told almoſt every noble family in the kingdom has received benefit, are ſuch as Invigorate, Cleanſe, and Beautify; for if our nobility are

impotent, loathſome, and hideous, in what condition are thoſe who are expoſed to the viciſſitudes of wet and dry, and cold and heat, which in this climate are ſudden and frequent? In what condition are thoſe who ſweat at the furnace, or delve in the mine, who draw in peſtilential fumes at every breath, and admit an enemy to life at every pore? If a being whoſe perſpicacity could diſcover effects yet ſlumbering in their cauſes, would perceive the future peers of this realm corked cloſe in a vial, or rolled up in a pill; or if, while yet more diſtant, they would appear riſing in the vapour of an alembic, or agitated in the vortex of a mortar; from whence muſt we expect thoſe who ſhould hereafter ſupply the fleet, the manufactory, or the field?

But the good that would flow in a thouſand ſtreams to the community from theſe fountains of health, and vigour, and beauty, is in ſome degree intercepted, by the envy and folly of perſons who have at a great expence crowded the city with buildings called Hoſpitals; in which thoſe who have been long taught to mangle the dead, practiſe the ſame horrid arts upon the living; and where a cancer or a gangrene produce the amputation of a limb, tho' a cure for the cancer might have been purchaſed in Fleet-ſtreet for a ſhilling, and a powder that inſtantly ſtops the progreſs of a gangrene, upon Tower Hill for ſixpence. In hoſpitals diſeaſes are not cured, but rendered incurable: and tho' of this the public has been often advertiſed by Mr. Robert Ratſey, who gives advice to the poor in Billiter Lane, yet hoſpitals are ſtill filled, and new donations are made. Mr. Ratſey has indeed himſelf contributed to this evil; for he promiſes

promiſes to cure even thoſe who have been thus rendered incurable; a reſource, therefore, is ſtill left, and the vulgar will be encouraged to throw themſelves into an hoſpital, in compliance with their prejudices, by reflecting that after all they can make the experiment which ought to have been their firſt choice.

I would not be thought to dictate to the legiſlature; but I think that all perſons, eſpecially this gentleman, ſhould be prohibited from curing theſe incurable patients by act of parliament: though I hope that he will, after this notice, reſtrain the firſt ardour of his benevolence, by reflecting that a conduct which may be mercy to one, will be cruelty to many; and that in his future advertiſements this dangerous promiſe will not be repeated.

This iſland has been long famous for diſeaſes which are not known in any other part of the world; and my predeceſſor the Spectator, has taken notice of a perſon, who in his time, among other ſtrange maladies, undertook "to cure long ſea-voyages and campaigns." If I cannot acquaint my reader with any new diſeaſe that is equally aſtoniſhing, I can record a method of cure which tho' it was not ſucceſsful, yet deſerves to be remembered for farther experiments.

The miniſter, the overſeer, and the church-warden of a pariſh in Kent, after ſetting forth the miſery of a young man who was afflicted with a rupture, proceed to addreſs the public in the following terms:

"His friends applied to ſeveral gentlemen "for a cure, but all proved ineffectual, and "wore a truſs, till we ſent him to Mr. Wood-"ward at the King's Arms, near Half-moon "ſtreet, Picadilly."

It

It appears therefore that ſeveral gentlemen, in the zeal of their compaſſion, not only applied for advice, but actually wore a truſs for this unfortunate youth; who would, notwithſtanding, ſtill have continued to languiſh in great miſery, if they had not at laſt ſent him to Mr. Woodward.

After this inſtance of generous compaſſion and true public ſpirit, it will be juſt to remark the conduct of perſons who have filled a much more elevated ſtation, who have been appointed guardians of the people, and whoſe obligation to promote their happineſs was therefore more complicated and extenſive.

I am told that formerly a patent could not be obtained for diſpenſing theſe infallible remedies at a leſs expence than ſixty pounds; and yet that, without a patent, counterfeits are impoſed upon the public, by which diſeaſes are rendered more malignant, and death precipitated. I am however very unwilling to believe, that the legiſlature ever refuſed to permit others to ſnatch ſickneſs and decrepitude from the grave, without receiving ſo exorbitant a conſideration.

At preſent a patent may be obtained for a much more reaſonable ſum; and it is not worth while to enquire, whether this tax upon health was ever exorbitant, as it is now too light to be felt: but our enemies, if they cannot intercept the licence to do good, ſtill labour to render it ineffectual.

They inſinuate, that tho' a patent is known to give a ſanction to the medicine, and to be regarded by the vulgar as a certificate of its value; yet that, for the cuſtomary fee, a patent may be obtained to diſpenſe poiſon: for if the noſtrum itſelf is a ſecret, its qualities cannot be otherwiſe

wiſe known than by its effects; and concerning its effects no enquiry is made.

Thus it appears that the Jeſuits, who formerly did us ſo much miſchief, are ſtill buſy in this kingdom: for who elſe could propagate ſo invidious a reproach for ſo deſtructive a purpoſe?

But the web of ſubtilty is ſometimes ſo extremely attenuated, that it is broken by its own weight; and if theſe implacable enemies of our church and ſtate had attempted leſs, they would have effected more: for who can believe, that thoſe names, which ſhould always be read with a ſenſe of duty and obligation, were ever proſtituted in public advertiſements, for a paultry ſum, to the purpoſes of wretches who defraud the poor of their money, and the ſick of their life, by diſpenſing as remedies, drugs that are either ineffectual or pernicious, and precluding, till it is too late, more effectual aſſiſtance. To believe this, would be as ridiculous as to doubt, whether an attempt was made to cure Mr. Woodward's patient, by applying truſſes to the abdomen of his friends, after it has been ſo often and ſo publicly aſſerted in an advertiſement, ſigned by perſons of unqueſtioned veracity; perſons who were probably among the number of thoſe by whom truſſes were worn, and might firſt think of applying to Mr. Woodward, upon perceiving that a remedy which was ſo troubleſome to them produced no apparent effect upon the patient. For my own part, I never hear the cavils of ſophiſtry with patience; but when they are uſed to bring calamity upon my country, my indignation knows no bounds. Let us unite againſt the arts as well as the power of our enemies, and continue to improve all the advantages of our conſtitution

ſtitution and our climate; and we cannot fail to ſecure health, vigour, and longevity, from which the wreath of glory and the treaſures of opulence derive all their value. *Adventurer.*

BOOK XVII.

CHAP. I.

RELIGION.

SECT. I.

Its end.

THE end and deſign of all religion; the proper effect and produce of good principles; the good fruit of a good tree; the ultimate view and the fundamental intention of all religious truths, implanted in men either by nature or teaching; is the practice of virtue. For the word Religion, in its very native and original meaning, ſignifies an obligation upon men, ariſing from the reaſon of things and from the government of God, to do what is juſt, and virtuous, and good; to live in a conſtant habitual ſenſe and acknowledgment of God, in the practiſe of

of univerſal juſtice and charity towards men, and in a regular and ſober government of their own paſſions; under a firm perſuaſion and continual expectation of the righteous diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments at their proper ſeaſon, in the eternal judgment of God. This is the foundation of religion; the fundamental doctrine; in all places, and at all times, invariable and eternal. This, being corrupted by numerous ſuperſtitions among the Jews, and by the abſurdeſt idolatries and moſt enormous immoralities among the heathen, Chriſt came into the world to reſtore; and by the preaching of forgiveneſs upon true repentance and effectual amendment of life and manners, to bring back ſinners to the kingdom of God, through the obedience of the goſpel. In proportion therefore as any doctrine of truth has a greater, or more proper, and more immediate tendency to promote this great end, to produce this fruit of the ſpirit; exactly the very ſame proportion has it of weight and excellency, in the religious eſtimation of things: 'Tis gold or ſilver, or precious ſtones, (in the Apoſtles language) built upon the foundation of Chriſt. And on the other ſide, any erroneous opinion, in proportion as it has any or no moral influence, in the very ſame proportion 'tis faulty or innocent. 'Tis (in St. Paul's ſimilitude) either wood, hay, ſtubble; ſomething that is merely loſt labour, uſeleſs only, and inſignificant, and of no ſtrength in the building: or elſe 'tis oppoſite to, and deſtructive of, the very foundation of the temple of God. 'Tis (in the analogy of our Saviour's parable) that which denominates a man either to be a vine in which are many fruitleſs branches; or that he is

(according to the compariſon in the text) a thorn or a bramble-buſh, from which 'tis impoſſible to expect there ſhould ever at all be gathered figs or grapes. *Clarke.*

SECT. II.

Of revealed religion.

IT has always been my thought, that heathens who never did, nor without miracle could, hear of the name of Chriſt, were yet in a poſſibility of ſalvation; neither will it enter eaſily into my belief, that before the coming of our Saviour the world, excepting only the Jewiſh nation, ſhould lie under the inevitable neceſſity of everlaſting puniſhment, for want of that revelation, which was confined to ſo ſmall a ſpot of ground as that of Paleſtine. Among the ſons of Noah we read of one only who was accurſed; and if a bleſſing in the ripeneſs of time was reſerved for Japhet (of whoſe progeny we are) it ſeems unaccountable to me, why ſo many generations of the ſame offſpring as preceded our Saviour in the fleſh, ſhould be all involved in one common condemnation, and yet that their poſterity ſhould be intitled to the hopes of ſalvation: as if a bill of excluſion had paſſed only on the fathers, which debarred not the ſons from their ſucceſſion. Or that ſo many ages had been delivered over to hell, and ſo many reſerved for heaven; and that the devil had the firſt choice, and God the next. Truly I am apt to think, that the revealed religion which was taught by Noah

to

to all his ſons, might continue for ſome ages in the whole poſterity. That afterwards it was included wholly in the family of Shem is manifeſt; but when the progenies of Cham and Japhet ſwarmed into colonies, and thoſe colonies were ſubdivided into many others; in proceſs of time their deſcendants loſt by little and little the primitive and purer rites of divine worſhip, retaining only the notion of one deity; to which ſucceeding generations added others: for men took their degrees in thoſe ages from conquerors to gods. Revelation being eclipſed to almoſt all mankind, the light of nature, as the next in dignity, was ſubſtituted; and that is it which St. Paul concludes to be the rule of the heathens, and by which they are hereafter to be judged. *Dryden.*

SECT. III.

Not to be judged entirely by reaſon.

DEISM, or the principles of natural worſhip, are only the faint remnants or dying flames of revealed religion in the poſterity of Noah: and our modern philoſophers, nay, and ſome of our philoſophiſing divines have too much exalted the faculties of our ſouls, when they have maintained that by their force, mankind has been able to find out that there is one ſupreme agent or intellectual being which we call God; that praiſe and prayer are his due worſhip; and the reſt of thoſe deducements, which I am confident are the remote effects of revelation, and

unattainable by our diſcourſe, I mean as ſimply conſidered, and without the benefit of divine illumination. So that we have not lifted up ourſelves to God by the weak pinions of our reaſon, but he has been pleaſed to deſcend to us; and what Socrates ſaid of him, what Plato writ, and the reſt of the heathen philoſophers of ſeveral nations, is all no more than the twilight of revelation, after the ſun of it was ſet in the race of Noah. That there is ſomething above us, ſome principle of motion, our reaſon can apprehend, though it cannot diſcover what it is by its own virtue. And indeed 'tis very improbable, that we, who by the ſtrength of our faculties cannot enter into the knowledge of any being, not ſo much as of our own, ſhould be able to find out by them that ſupreme nature, which we cannot otherwiſe define than by ſaying it is infinite; as if infinite were definable, or infinity a ſubject for our narrow underſtanding. They who would prove religion by reaſon, do but weaken the cauſe which they endeavour to ſupport: it is to take away the pillars from our faith, and prop it only with a twig; it is to deſign a tower like that of Babel, which if it were poſſible, as it is not, to reach heaven, would come to nothing by the confuſion of the workmen. For every man is building a ſeveral way; impotently conceited of his own model, and of his own materials: reaſon is always ſtriving, always at a loſs; and of neceſſity it muſt ſo come to paſs, while it is exerciſed about that which is not its proper object. Let us be content at laſt to know God by his own methods; at leaſt, ſo much of him as he is pleaſed to reveal to us in the ſacred ſcriptures: to apprehend them

them to be the word of God, is all our reaſon has to do; for all beyond it is the work of faith, which is the ſeal of heaven impreſſed upon our human underſtanding. *Dryden.*

SECT. IV.

The foundation of Content: A beautiful Allegory.

OMAR, the hermit of the mountain Aubukabis, which riſes on the eaſt of Mecca, and overlooks the city, found one evening a man ſitting penſive and alone, within a few paces of his cell. Omar regarded him with attention, and perceived that his looks were wild and haggard, and that his body was feeble and emaciated: the man alſo ſeemed to gaze ſtedfaſtly on Omar; but ſuch was the abſtraction of his mind, that his eye did not immediately take cognizance of its object. In the moment of recollection he ſtarted as from a dream, he covered his face in confuſion, and bowed himſelf to the ground. "Son of affliction," ſaid Omar, "who art thou, and what is thy diſtreſs?" "My name, replied the ſtranger, is Haſſan, and I am a native of this city: the Angel of adverſity has laid his hand upon me, and the wretch whom thine eye compaſſionates, thou canſt not deliver." "To deliver thee, ſaid Omar, belongs to Him only, from whom we ſhould receive with humility both good and evil: yet hide not thy life from me; for the burthen which I cannot remove, I may at leaſt enable thee to ſuſtain." Haſſan fixed his eyes upon the ground, and remained ſome time ſi-

lent; then fetching a deep ſigh, he looked up at the hermit, and thus complied with his requſt.

It is now ſix years ſince our mighty lord the Caliph Almalic, whoſe memory be bleſſed, firſt came privately to worſhip in the temple of the holy city. The bleſſing which he petitioned of the prophet, as the prophet's vicegerent, he was diligent to diſpenſe: in the intervals of his devotion, therefore, he went about the city, relieving diſtreſs and reſtraining oppreſſion: the widow ſmiled under his protection, and the weakneſs of age and infancy was ſuſtained by his bounty. I, who dreaded no evil but ſickneſs, and expected no good beyond the reward of my labour, was ſinging at my work when Almalic entered my dwelling. He looked round with a ſmile of complacency; perceiving that though it was mean it was neat, and that though I was poor I appeared to be content. As his habit was that of a pilgrim, I haſtened to receive him with ſuch hoſpitality as was in my power; and my chearfulneſs was rather increaſed than reſtrained by his preſence. After he had accepted ſome coffee, he aſked me many queſtions; and though by my anſwers I always endeavoured to excite him to mirth, yet I perceived that he grew thoughtful, and eyed me with a placid but fixed attention. I ſuſpected that he had ſome knowledge of me, and therefore enquired his country and his name. "Haſſan," ſaid he, "I have raiſed thy curioſity, and it ſhall be ſatisfied; he who now talks with thee is Almalic, the ſovereign of the faithful, whoſe ſeat is the throne of Medina, and whoſe commiſſion is from above." Theſe words ſtruck me dumb with aſtoniſhment, though I had

had ſome doubt of their truth: but Almalic, throwing back his garment, diſcovered the peculiarity of his veſt, and put the royal ſignet upon his finger. I then ſtarted up, and was about to proſtrate myſelf before him, but he prevented me: "Haſſan, ſaid he, forbear; thou art greater than I, and from thee I have at once derived humility and wiſdom." I anſwered, "Mock not thy ſervant, who is but as a worm before thee: life and death are in thy hand, and happineſs and miſery are the daughters of thy will." "Haſſan, he replied, I can no otherwiſe give life or happineſs, than by not taking them away: thou art thyſelf beyond the reach of my bounty, and poſſeſſed of felicity which I can neither communicate nor obtain. My influence over others, fills my boſom with perpetual ſollicitude and anxiety; and yet my influence over others extends only to their vices, whether I would reward or puniſh. By the bow-ſtring, I can repreſs violence and fraud; and by the delegation of power, I can transfer the inſatiable wiſhes of avarice and ambition from one object to another; but with reſpect to virtue, I am impotent: if I could reward it, I would reward it in thee. Thou art content, and haſt therefore neither avarice nor ambition: to exalt thee, would deſtroy the ſimplicity of thy life, and diminiſh that happineſs which I have no power, either to increaſe or to continue."

He then roſe up, and commanding me not to diſcloſe his ſecret, departed.

As ſoon as I recovered from the confuſion and aſtoniſhment in which the Caliph left me, I began to regret that my behaviour had intercepted his bounty; and accuſed that chearfulneſs of folly,

folly, which was the concomitant of poverty and labour. I now repined at the obſcurity of my ſtation, which my former inſenſibility had perpetuated: I neglected my labour, becauſe I deſpiſed the reward; I ſpent the day in idleneſs, forming romantick projects to recover the advantages which I had loſt: and at night, inſtead of loſing myſelf in that ſweet and refreſhing ſleep, from which I uſed to riſe with new health, chearfulneſs, and vigour, I dreamt of ſplendid habits and a numerous retinue, of gardens, palaces, eunuchs, and women, and waked only to regret the illuſions that had vaniſhed. My health was at length impaired by the inquietude of my mind; I ſold all my moveables for ſubſiſtence; and reſerved only a mattraſs, upon which I ſometimes lay from one night to another.

In the firſt moon of the following year, the Caliph came again to Mecca, with the ſame ſecrecy, and for the ſame purpoſes. He was willing once more to ſee the man, whom he conſidered as deriving felicity from himſelf. But he found me, not ſinging at my work, ruddy with health, vivid with chearfulneſs; but pale and dejected, ſitting on the ground, and chewing opium, which contributed to ſubſtitute the phantoms of imagination for the realities of greatneſs. He entered with a kind of joyful impatience in his countenance, which, the moment he beheld me, was changed to a mixture of wonder and pity. I had often wiſhed for another opportunity to addreſs the Caliph; yet I was confounded at his preſence, and throwing myſelf at his feet, I laid my hand upon my head, and was ſpeechleſs. "Haſſan, ſaid he, what

canſt

canſt thou have loſt, whoſe wealth was the labour of thine own hand; and what can have made thee ſad, the ſpring of whoſe joy was in thy own boſom? What evil hath befallen thee? Speak, and if I can remove it, thou art happy." I was now encouraged to look up, and I replied, "Let my lord forgive the preſumption of his ſervant, who rather than utter a falſehood would be dumb for ever. I am become wretched by the loſs of that which I never poſſeſſed: thou haſt raiſed wiſhes, which indeed I am not worthy thou ſhouldeſt ſatisfy; but why ſhou'd it be thought, that he who was happy in obſcurity and indigence, would not have been rendered more happy by eminence and wealth?"

When I had finiſhed this ſpeech, Almalic ſtood ſome moments in ſuſpence, and I continued proſtrate before him. "Haſſan, ſaid he, I perceive, not with indignation but regret, that I miſtook thy character; I now diſcover avarice and ambition in thy heart, which lay torpid only becauſe their objects were too remote to rouze them. I cannot therefore inveſt thee with authority, becauſe I would not ſubject my people to oppreſſion; and becauſe I would not be compelled to puniſh thee for crimes which I firſt enabled thee to commit. But as I have taken from thee that which I cannot reſtore, I will at leaſt gratify the wiſhes that I excited, leſt thy heart accuſe me of injuſtice, and thou continue ſtill a ſtranger to thyſelf. Ariſe, therefore, and follow me." I ſprung from the ground as it were with the wings of an eagle; I kiſſed the hem of his garment in an extaſy of gratitude and joy; and when I went out of my houſe, my heart leaped as if I had eſcaped from the den of a lion. I followed Almalic to the caravanſera

in

in which he lodged; and after he had fulfilled his vows, he took me with him to Medina. He gave me an apartment in the Seraglio; I was attended by his own ſervants; my proviſions were ſent from his own table; I received every week a ſum from his treaſury, which exceeded the moſt romantic of my expectations. But I ſoon diſcovered, that no dainty was ſo taſteful, as the food to which labour procured an appetite; no ſlumbers ſo ſweet, as thoſe which wearineſs invited; and no time ſo well enjoyed, as that in which diligence is expecting its reward. I remembered theſe enjoyments with regret; and while I was ſighing in the midſt of ſuperfluities, which tho' they encumbered life, yet I could not give up, they were ſuddenly taken away.

Almalic, in the midſt of the glory of his kingdom, and in the full vigour of his life, expired ſuddenly in the bath: ſuch thou knoweſt was the deſtiny, which the Almighty had written upon his head.

His ſon Aububekir, who ſucceeded to the throne, was incenſed againſt me, by ſome who regarded me at once with contempt and envy; he ſuddenly withdrew my penſion, and commanded that I ſhould be expelled the palace; a command which my enemies executed with ſo much rigour, that within twelve hours, I found myſelf in the ſtreets of Medina, indigent and friendleſs, expoſed to hunger and deriſion, with all the habits of luxury, and all the ſenſibility of pride. O! let not thy heart deſpiſe me, thou whom experience has not taught, that it is miſery to loſe that which it is not happineſs to poſſeſs. O! that for me, this leſſon had not been written on the tablets of Providence! I have travelled

velled from Medina to Mecca; but I cannot fly from myſelf. How different are the ſtates in which I have been placed! The remembrance of both is bitter; for the pleaſures of neither can return. Haſſan having thus ended his ſtory, ſmote his hands together; and looking upward burſt into tears.

Omar, having waited till this agony was paſt, went to him, and taking him by the hand, "My ſon," ſaid he, "more is yet in thy power than Almalic could give, or Aububekir take away. The leſſon of thy life the prophet has in mercy appointed me to explain.

"Thou waſt once content with poverty and labour, only becauſe they were become habitual, and eaſe and affluence were placed beyond thy hope; for when eaſe and affluence approached thee, thou waſt content with poverty and labour no more. That which then became the object, was alſo the bound of thy hope; and he, whoſe utmoſt hope is diſappointed, muſt inevitably be wretched. If thy ſupreme deſire had been the delights of paradiſe, and thou hadſt believed that by the tenor of thy life theſe delights had been ſecured, as more could not have been given thee, thou wouldeſt not have regretted that leſs was not offered. The content which was once enjoyed, was but the lethargy of the ſoul; and the diſtreſs which is now ſuffered, will but quicken it to action. Depart, therefore, and be thankful for all things; put thy truſt in Him, who alone can gratify the wiſh of reaſon, and ſatisfy thy ſoul with good: fix thy hope upon that portion, in compariſon of which the world is as the drop of the bucket, and the duſt of the ballance. Return, my ſon, to thy labour; thy food

food ſhall be again taſteful, and thy reſt ſhall be ſweet: to thy content alſo will be added ſtability, when it depends not upon that which is poſſeſſed upon earth, but upon that which is expected in Heaven."

Haſſan, upon whoſe mind the Angel of inſtruction impreſſed the counſel of Omar, haſtened to proſtrate himſelf in the temple of the Prophet. Peace dawned upon his mind like the radiance of the morning: he returned to his labour with chearfulneſs; his devotion became ſervent and habitual; and the latter days of Haſſan were happier than the firſt.

Adventurer.

SECT. V.

Contributes to our happineſs in this life.

ABOUT an age ago it was the faſhion in England, for every one that would be thought religious, to throw as much ſanctity as poſſible into his face, and in particular to abſtain from all appearances of mirth and pleaſantry, which were looked upon as the marks of a carnal mind. This ſaint was of a ſorrowful countenance, and generally eaten up with ſpleen and melancholy. A gentleman who was lately a great ornament to the learned world, has diverted me more than once with an account of the reception which he met with from a very famous Independant miniſter, who was head of a college at thoſe times. This gentleman was a young adventurer in the republick of letters, and juſt fitted out for

for the univerſity, with a good cargo of Latin and Greek. His friends were reſolved that he ſhould try his fortune at an election which was drawing near in the college, of which the Independant miniſter, who I have before mentioned, was governor. The youth, according to cuſtom, waited on him in order to be examined. He was received at the door by a ſervant, who was one of that gloomy generation that was then in faſhion. He conducted him, with ſilence and ſerioufneſs, to a long gallery, which was darkened at noon day, and had only a ſingle candle burning in it. After a ſhort ſtay in this melancholy apartment, he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himſelf for ſome time by the glimmering of a taper, till at length the head of the college came out to him, from an inner room, with half a dozen night-caps upon his head, and religious horror in his countenance. The young man trembled; but his fears increaſed, when, inſtead of being aſked what progreſs he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in grace. His Latin and Greek ſtood him in little ſtead; he was to give an account only of the ſtate of his ſoul; whether he was of the number of the elect; what was the occaſion of his converſion; upon what day of the month, and hour of the day, it happened; how it was carried on, and when compleated. The whole examination was ſummed up with one ſhort queſtion, namely, whether he was prepared for death. The boy, who had been bred up by honeſt parents, was frighted out of his wits at the ſolemnity of the proceedings, and by the laſt dreadful interrogatory; ſo that upon making his eſcape out

of

of the houſe of mourning, he could never be brought a ſecond time to the examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it.

Notwithſtanding this general form and outſide of religion is pretty well wore out among us, there are many perſons, who, by a natural unchearfulneſs of heart, miſtaken notion of piety, or weakneſs of underſtanding, love to indulge this uncomfortable way of life, and give up themſelves a prey to grief and melancholy. Superſtitious fears and groanleſs ſcruples cut them off from the pleaſures of converſation, and all thoſe ſocial entertainments which are not only innocent, but laudable; as if mirth was made for reprobates, and chearfulneſs of heart denied thoſe who are the only perſons that have a proper title to it.

Sombrius is one of theſe ſons of ſorrow. He thinks himſelf obliged in duty to be ſad and diſconſolate. He looks on a ſudden fit of laughter as a breach of his baptiſmal vow. An innocent jeſt ſtartles him into blaſphemy. Tell him of one who is advanced to a title of honour, he lifts up his hands and eyes; deſcribe a publick ceremony, he ſhakes his head; ſhew him a gay equipage, he bleſſes himſelf. All the little ornaments of this life are pomps and vanities. Mirth is wanton, and wit profane. He is ſcandalized at youth for being lively, and childhood for being playful. He ſits at a chriſtening or a marriage feaſt as at a funeral; ſighs at the concluſion of a merry ſtory, and grows devout when the reſt of the company grows pleaſant. After all, Sombrius is a religious man, and would have behaved himſelf very properly, had he lived when chriſtianity was under a general perſecution.

I would by no means preſume to tax ſuch characters with hypocriſy, as is done too frequently; that being a vice which I think none but He who knows the ſecrets of men's hearts, ſhould pretend to diſcover in another, where the proofs of it do not amount to a demonſtration. On the contrary, there are as many excellent perſons who are weighed down by this habitual ſorrow of heart, they rather deſerve our compaſſion than our reproaches. I think, however, they would do well to conſider, whether ſuch a behaviour does not deter men from a religious life, by repreſenting it as an unſociable ſtate, that extinguiſhes all joy and gladneſs, darkens the face of nature, and deſtroys the reliſh of being itſelf.

I have in former papers ſhewn how great a tendency there is to chearfulneſs in religion, and how ſuch a frame of mind is not only the moſt lovely, but the moſt commendable in a virtuous perſon. In ſhort, thoſe who repreſent religion in ſo unamiable a light, are like the ſpies ſent by Moſes to make a diſcovery of the Land of Promiſe, when by their reports they diſcouraged the people from entering upon it. Thoſe who ſhew us the joy, the chearfulneſs, the good humour, that naturally ſpring up in this happy ſtate, are like the ſpies bringing along with them the cluſters of grapes, and delicious fruits, that might invite their companions into the pleaſant country which produces them.

An eminent pagan writer has made a diſcourſe to ſhow, that the Atheiſt, who denies a God, does him leſs diſhonour than the man who owns his being, but at the ſame time believes him to be cruel, hard to pleaſe, and terrible to human

human nature. "For my own part, ſays he, I would rather it ſhould be ſaid of me, that there was never any ſuch man as Plutarch, than that Plutarch was ill natured, capricious, or inhuman."

If we may believe our logicians, man is diſtinguiſhed from other creatures by the faculty of laughter. He has a heart capable of mirth, and naturally diſpoſed to it. It is not the buſineſs of virtue to extirpate the affections of the mind, but to regulate them. It may moderate and reſtrain, but was not deſigned to baniſh gladneſs from the heart of man. Religion contracts the circle of our pleaſures, but leaves it wide enough for her votaries to expatiate in. The contemplation of the Divine Being, and the exerciſe of virtue, are in their own nature ſo far from excluding all gladneſs of heart, that they are perpetual ſources of it. In a word, the true ſpirit of religion cheers, as well as compoſes the ſoul; it baniſhes indeed all levity of behaviour, all vicious and diſſolute mirth, but in exchange fills the mind with a perpetual ſerenity, uninterrupted chearfulneſs, and an habitual inclination to pleaſe others, as well as to be pleaſed in itſelf.

Beauties of the Spectators, &c.

SECT. VI.

Chriſtian religion ſupported by Scripture.

TO perſuade men to believe the ſcriptures, I only offer this to men's conſideration. If there be a God, whoſe providence governs the world, and

and all the creatures in it, is it not reaſonable to think, that he hath a particular care of man, the nobleſt part of this viſible world? And ſeeing he hath made them capable of eternal duration, that he hath provided for their eternal happineſs, and ſufficiently revealed to them the way to it, and the terms and conditions of it! Now let any man produce any book in the world, that pretends to be from God, and to do this; that for the matter of it is ſo worthy of God, the doctrines whereof are ſo uſeful, and the precepts ſo reaſonable, and the arguments ſo powerful; the truth of all which was confirmed by ſo many great and unqueſtioned miracles; the relation of which has been tranſmitted to poſterity in publick and authentick records, written by thoſe who were ear and eye-witneſſes of what they wrote, and free from ſuſpicion of any worldly intereſt or deſign; let any produce a book like to this, in all theſe reſpects; and which, over and beſides, hath by the power and reaſonableneſs of the doctrines contained in it, prevailed ſo miraculouſly in the world, by weak and inconſiderable means, in oppoſition to all the wit and power of the world, and under ſuch diſcouragements as no other religion was ever aſſaulted with; let any man bring forth ſuch a book, and he hath my leave to believe it as ſoon as the Bible. But if there be none ſuch, as I am well aſſured there is not, then every one that thinks God hath revealed himſelf to men, ought to embrace and entertain the doctrine of the holy ſcriptures, as revealed by God. *Guardian.*

CHAP.

SECT. VII.

The beſt and only ſupport in caſes of real ſtreſs.

THERE are no principles but thoſe of religion to be depended on in caſes of real ſtreſs, and theſe are able to encounter the worſt emergencies; and to bear us up under all the changes and chances to which our life is ſubject.

Conſider then what virtue the very firſt principle of religion has, and how wonderfully it is conducive to this end: That there is a God, a powerful, a wiſe and good being, who firſt made the world and continues to govern it;—by whoſe goodneſs all things are deſigned—and by whoſe providence all things are conducted to bring about the greateſt and beſt ends. The ſorrowful and penſive wretch that was giving way to his misfortunes, and mournfully ſinking under them, the moment this doctrine comes in to his aid, huſhes all his complaints—and thus ſpeaks comfort to his ſoul,—"It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good.—Without his direction I know that no evil can befall me,—without his permiſſion that no power can hurt me:—it is impoſſible a Being ſo wiſe ſhould miſtake my happineſs——or that a Being ſo good ſhould contradict it. If he has denied me riches or other advantages—perhaps he foreſees the gratifying my wiſhes would undo me, and by my own abuſe of them be perverted to my ruin.——If he has denied me the requeſt of children,—or in his providence has thought fit to take them from me—how can I ſay—whether he has not dealt kindly with me, and only taken that away

away which he foreſaw would embitter and ſhorten my days.—It does ſo, to thouſands, where the diſobedience of a thankleſs child has brought down the parents grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave. Has he viſited me with ſickneſs, poverty, or other diſappointments?—can I ſay, but theſe are bleſſings in diſguiſe?—ſo many different expreſſions of his care and concern to diſentangle my thoughts from this world, and fix them upon another, —— another, a better world beyond this!"—This thought opens a new face of hope and conſolation to the unfortunate;—and as the perſuaſion of a Providence reconciles him to the evils he has ſuffered,—this proſpect of a future life gives him ſtrength to deſpiſe them, and eſteem the light afflictions of this life as they are, not worthy to be compared to what is reſerved for him hereafter.

Things are great or ſmall by compariſon—and he who looks no further than this world, and ballances the accounts of his joys and ſufferings from that conſideration, finds all his ſorrows enlarged, and at the cloſe of them will be apt to look back, and caſt the ſame ſad reflection upon the whole, which the patriarch did to Pharaoh,—"That few and evil had been the days of his pilgrimage." But let him lift up his eyes towards heaven, and ſtedfaſtly behold the life and immortality of a future ſtate,—he then wipes away all tears from off his eyes for ever and ever;—like the exiled captive, big with the hopes that he is returning home;——he feels not the weight of his chains, or counts the days of his captivity; but looks forward with rapture towards the country where his heart is fled before.

Theſe are the aids which religion offers us towards the regulation of our ſpirit under the evils of life,—but like great cordials,—they are ſeldom uſed but on greater occurrences.—In the leſſer evils of life we ſeem to ſtand unguarded—and our peace and contentment are overthrown, and our happineſs broke in upon by a little impatience of ſpirit, under the croſs and outward accidents we meet with.—Theſe ſtand unprovided for, and we neglect them as we do the ſlighter indiſpoſitions of the body——which we think not worth treating ſeriouſly—and ſo leave them to nature. In good habits of the body, this may do,—and I would gladly believe, there are ſuch good habits of the temper,—ſuch a complexional eaſe and health of heart, as may often ſave the patient much medicine.---We are ſtill to conſider---that however ſuch good frames of mind are got---they are worth preſerving by all rules; ---patience and contentment,---which like the treaſure hid in the field for which a man ſold all he had to purchaſe---is of that price that it cannot be had at too great a purchaſe, ſince without it, the beſt condition in life cannot make us happy,---and with it, it is impoſſible we ſhould be miſerable even in the worſt.

Sterne's Sermons.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

RETIREMENT.

Of no Uſe to Some.

TO lead the life I propoſe with ſatisfaction and profit, renouncing the pleaſures and buſineſs of the world, and breaking the habits of both, is not ſufficient: the ſupine creature whoſe underſtanding is ſuperficially employed, through life, about a few general notions, and is never bent to a cloſe and ſteady purſuit of truth, may renounce the pleaſures and buſineſs of the world, for even in the buſineſs of the world we ſee ſuch creatures often employed, and may break the habits; nay he may retire and drone away life in ſolitude like a monk, or like him over the door of whoſe houſe, as if his houſe had been his tomb, ſomebody writ, "Here lies ſuch an one:" but no ſuch man will be able to make the true uſe of retirement. The employment of his mind, that would have been agreeable and eaſy if he had accuſtomed himſelf to it early, will be unpleaſant and impracticable late: ſuch men loſe their intellectual powers for want of exerting them, and, having trifled away youth, are reduced to the neceſſity of trifling away age. It fares with the mind juſt as it does with the body. He who was born with a texture of brain as ſtrong as that of Newton, may become unable to perform the common rules of arithmetic; juſt as he who has the ſame elaſticity in his muſcles, the ſame ſuppleneſs in

his joints, and all his nerves and ſinews as well braced as Jacob Hall, may become a fat unwieldy ſluggard. Yet further; the implicit creature, who has thought it all his life needleſs, or unlawful, to examine the principles of facts that he took originally on truſt, will be as little able as the other to improve his ſolitude to any good purpoſe: unleſs we call it a good purpoſe, for that ſometimes happens, to confirm and exalt his prejudices, ſo that he may live and die in one continued delirium. The confirmed prejudices of a thoughtful life are as hard to change as the confirmed habits of an indolent life: and as ſome muſt trifle away age becauſe they trifled away youth, others muſt labour on in a maze of error, becauſe they have wandered there too long to find their way out.

Bolingbroke.

CHAP. III.

REVELATION.

The different Species of it among the Jews.

NOW the ſeveral kinds of Revelation taken notice of by the Jews, are, viſions; dreams; prophecy; oracle; inſpiration, or that which we call the Holy Ghoſt; voice Bath-col; or that which was the higheſt of all, which they called *gradus Moſaicus*, the degree of revelation which was peculiar to Moſes. The Jewiſh writers, eſpecially Maimonides, have many ſubtle obſervations

ſervations about the differences of theſe ſeveral kinds of revelation, founded upon ſubtle and philoſophical diſtinctions of the faculties of perception; as, that ſome of theſe revelations were by impreſſion only upon the underſtanding; ſome only upon the imagination; ſome upon both; ſome upon the outward ſenſes: but the ſimple and plain difference between all, ſo far as there is any ground in ſcripture to diſtinguiſh them, ſeems to be this: Viſion was a repreſentation of ſomething to a man, when he was waking, in oppoſition to dreams, which were repreſentations made to men in their ſleep. Prophecy might be either dream or viſion; and the Jews obſerve, that it was always one of theſe two ways, which they grounded upon Numb. x. 6. "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known to him in a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a dream." But propheey, in the ſtrict notion of it, had this peculiar belonging to it, that it was not only monitory or inſtructive, but did foretel ſome event of concernment to others; and the Jewiſh doctors tell us, that it was a clearer revelation, and carried a greater aſſurance along with it; and that this was common to all the three, that there was ſomething of extaſy and tranſport of mind in all theſe revelations.

The fourth ſort of revelation, which was by oracle, which is called Urim and Thummim, was a rendering of anſwers to queſtions, by the high-prieſt's looking upon the ſtones in the breaſt-plate; which how it was done, is uncertain.

The fifth ſort of revelation is that which they called the Holy Ghoſt, which was a more calm and gentle inſpiration, without any ex-

traordinary tranſport of mind or extaſy; ſuch as David had in the writing of the Pſalms.

The loweſt of all is that which they called Bath-col, which was by a voice from heaven; and this is the way of revelation which, the Jews obſerved, did only continue among them from the days of the prophet Malachi to our Saviour.

The higheſt of all was that which they called *gradus Moſaicus*, to which the Jews gave ſeveral prerogatives from all the other ways of revelation; as, that it was done by impreſſion merely upon the underſtanding, without extaſy, or rapture, or tranſport, when he was waking, and in his ordinary temper, and his ſenſes not bound up, either by extaſy or ſleep; that it was a revelation immediately from God himſelf, and not by the mediation of angels, without any fear, or amazement, or fainting, which was incident to other prophets; and that the ſpirit of prophecy reſted upon him, and he could exert it arbitrarily, and put it forth when he would. Of which thus much is evidently true from the ſtory of him, that the ſpirit of prophecy did reſt more conſtantly upon him, and that he could exert it with greater freedom, and without any diſcernible amazement or tranſport from his ordinary temper. But that it was by impreſſion merely upon his underſtanding, as that is a diſtinct faculty from the imagination, is not ſo certain: that it was always by an immediate communication from God, without the mediation of angels, ſeems not to be true; for St. Stephen tells us, that the "law was given by the depoſition of angels," Acts vii. 53. and St. Paul, that it was "ordained by the angels in the hand of

of a mediator, that is Moſes," Gal. iii. 19. But that the revelation which was made to him, had ſome ſingular prerogatives above thoſe of other prophets, is plain from ſcripture, Numb. xii. 5. 6. 7. 8. When Aaron and Miriam contended with Moſes as being equal to him, God tells them there was a vaſt difference between him and other prophets: "Hear now my words, if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a dream. My ſervant Moſes is not ſo. With him will I ſpeak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark ſpeeches, &c." Exod. xxxiii. 11. "And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes face to face, as a man ſpeaketh unto his friend." Deut. xxxiv. 10. "And there aroſe not a prophet ſince in Iſrael like unto Moſes, whom the Lord knew face to face." All which ſignify, at leaſt, this, That God made the cleareſt, and moſt familiar, and moſt perfect diſcoveries to Moſes of any of the prophets: only our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom God hath diſcovered his will to us under the New Teſtament, did excel Moſes; Moſes being but a faithful ſervant, that is, *humilis amicus*, a meaner ſort of friend; but the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten Son of God, who came from the boſom of his Father, and was intimately acquainted with the ſecrets of his will, had not the ſpirit given him by meaſure, but the moſt plentiful effuſion of it, being anointed above his fellows. *Tillotſon.*

CHAP. IV.

REVOLUTION.

Of 1688, *its Conſequences.*

FEW men at that time looked forward enough to foreſee the neceſſary conſequences of the new conſtitution of the revenue that was ſoon afterwards formed, nor of the method of funding that immediately took place; which, abſurd as they are, have continued ever ſince, till it is become ſcarce poſſible to alter them. Few people, I ſay, foreſaw how the creation of funds, and the multiplication of taxes, would encreaſe yearly the power of the crown, and bring our liberties, by a natural and neceſſary progreſſion, into more real, tho' leſs apparent danger, than they were in before the Revolution. The exceſſive ill huſbandry practiſed from the very beginning of King William's reign, and which laid the foundations of all we feel and all we fear, was not the effect of ignorance, miſtake, or what we call chance, but of deſign and ſcheme in thoſe who had the ſway at that time. I am not ſo uncharitable, however, as to believe, that they intended to bring upon their country all the miſchiefs that we, who came after them, experience, and apprehend. No; they ſaw the meaſures they took ſingly, and unrelatively, or relatively alone to ſome immediate object. The notion of attaching men to the new government, by tempting them to embark their fortunes on the ſame bottom, was a reaſon of ſtate to ſome:

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the notion of creating a new, that is, a monied intereſt, in oppoſition to the landed intereſt, or as a balance to it, and of acquiring a ſuperior influence in the city of London, at leaſt, by eſtabliſhment of great corporations, was a reaſon of party to others: and I make no doubt that the opportunity of amaſſing immenſe eſtates by the managements of funds, by trafficking in paper, and by all the arts of jobbing, was a reaſon of private intereſt to thoſe who ſupported and improved this ſcheme of iniquity, if not to thoſe who deviſed it. They looked no farther. Nay, we who came after them, and have long taſted the bitter fruits of the corruption they planted, were far from taking ſuch an alarm at our diſtreſs, and our danger, as they deſerved; till the moſt remote and fatal effect of cauſes, laid by the laſt generation, was very near becoming an object of experience in this.

Bolingbroke.

CHAP. V.

RICHES.

Their Vanity exemplified.

SIR,

AN opinion prevails almoſt univerſally in the world, that he who has money has every thing. This is not a modern paradox, or

the tenet of a ſmall and obſcure ſect, but a perſuaſion which appears to have operated upon moſt minds in all ages, and which is ſupported by authorities ſo numerous and ſo cogent, that nothing but long experience could have given me confidence to queſtion its truth.

But experience is the teſt by which all the Philoſophers of the preſent age agree, that ſpeculation muſt be tried; and I may be therefore allowed to doubt the power of money, ſince I have been a long time rich, and have not yet found that riches can make me happy.

My father was a farmer, neither wealthy nor indigent, who gave me a better education than was ſuitable to my birth, becauſe my uncle in the city deſigned me for his heir, and deſired that I might be bred a Gentleman. My uncle's wealth was the perpetual ſubject of converſation in the houſe; and when any little misfortune befel us, or any mortification dejected us, my father always exhorted me to hold up my head, for my uncle would never marry.

My uncle indeed kept his promiſe. Having his mind completely buſied between his warehouſe and the 'Change, he felt no tediouſneſs of life, nor any want of domeſtick amuſements. When my father died he received me kindly; but, after a few months, finding no great pleaſure in the converſation of each other, we parted, and he remitted me a ſmall annuity, on which I lived a quiet and ſtudious life, without any wiſh to grow great by the death of my benefactor.

But

But tho' I never ſuffered any malignant impatience to take hold on my mind, I could not forbear ſometimes to image to myſelf the pleaſure of being rich; and when I read of diverſions and magnificence, reſolved to try, when time ſhould put the trial in my power, what pleaſure they could afford.

My uncle, in the latter ſpring of life, when his ruddy cheek and his firm nerves promiſed him a long and healthy age, died of an apoplexy. His death gave me neither joy nor ſorrow. He did me good, and I regarded him with gratitude; but I could not pleaſe him, and therefore could not love him.

He had the policy of little minds, who love to ſurprize; and having always repreſented his fortune as leſs than it was, had, I ſuppoſe, often gratified himſelf with thinking, how I ſhould be delighted to find myſelf twice as rich as I expected. My wealth was ſuch as exceeded all the ſchemes of expence which I had formed, and I ſoon began to expand my thoughts, and look round for ſome purchaſe of felicity.

The moſt ſtriking effect of riches is the ſplendour of dreſs, which every man has obſerved to enforce reſpect, and facilitate reception; and my firſt deſire was to be fine. I ſent for a taylor who was employed by the Nobility, and ordered ſuch a ſuit of cloaths as I had often looked on with involuntary ſubmiſſion, and am aſhamed to remember with what flutters of expectation I waited for the hour when I ſhould iſſue forth with all the ſplendour of embroidery. The cloaths were brought, and for three days I obſerved many eyes turned towards me as I paſſed:

but I felt myſelf obſtructed in the common intercourſe of civility, by an uneaſy conſciouſneſs of my new appearance: as I thought myſelf more obſerved, I was more anxious about my mien and behaviour; and the mien which is formed by care is commonly ridiculous. A ſhort time accuſtomed me to myſelf, and my dreſs was without pain, and without pleaſure.

For a little while I tried to be a Rake, but I began too late; and having by nature no turn for a frolick, was in great danger of ending in a Drunkard. A fever, in which not one of my companions paid me a viſit, gave me time for reflection. I found that there was no great pleaſure in breaking windows and lying in the Round-houſe; and reſolved to aſſociate no longer with thoſe whom, tho' I had treated and bailed them, I could not make friends.

I then changed my meaſures, kept running horſes, and had the comfort of ſeeing my name very often in the news. I had a cheſnut horſe, the grandſon of Childers, who won four plates, and ten by-matches; and a bay filly, who carried off the five years old plate, and was expected to perform much greater exploits, when my groom broke her wind, becauſe I happened to catch him ſelling oats for beer. This happineſs was ſoon at an end; there was no pleaſure when I loſt, and when I won I could not much exalt myſelf by the virtues of my horſe. I grew aſhamed of the company of Jockey Lords, and reſolved to ſpend no more of my time in the ſtable.

It was now known that I had money and would ſpend it, and I paſſed four months in the company

company of Architects, whose whole business was to persuade me to build a house. I told them that I had more room than I wanted, but could not get rid of their importunities. A new plan was brought me every morning; till at last my constancy was overpowered, and I began to build. The happiness of building lasted but a little while, for though I love to spend, I hate to be cheated; and I soon found that to build is to be robbed.

When I had sold my Racers, and put the orders of Architecture out of my head, my next resolution was to be a *fine Gentleman*. I frequented the polite Coffee-houses, grew acquainted with all the men of humour, and gained the right of bowing familiarly to half the nobility. In this new scene of life my great labour was to learn to laugh. I had been used to consider laughter as the effect of merriment, but I soon learned that it is one of the arts of adulation, and from laughing only to shew that I was pleased, I now began to laugh when I wished to please. This was at first very difficult. I sometimes heard the story with dull indifference, and not exalting myself to merriment by due gradations, burst out suddenly into an aukward noise, which was not always favourably interpreted. Sometimes I was behind the rest of the company, and lost the grace of laughing by delay; and sometimes when I began at the right time, was deficient in loudness or in length. But by diligent imitation of the best models, I attained at last such flexibility of muscles, that I was always a welcome auditor of a story, and got the reputation of a good-natured fellow.

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This was ſomething; but much more was to be done, that I might be univerſally allowed to be a fine Gentleman. I appeared at Court on all publick days; betted at gaming tables, and played at all the routes of eminence. I went every night to the Opera, took a fidler of diſputed merit under my protection, became the head of a muſical faction, and had ſometimes concerts at my own houſe. I once thought to have attained the higheſt rank of elegance, by taking a foreign ſinger into keeping. But my favourite fidler contrived to be arreſted on the night of a concert for a finer ſuit of cloaths than I had ever preſumed to wear, and I loſt all the fame of patronage by refuſing to bail him.

My next ambition was to ſit for my picture. I ſpent a whole winter in going from painter to painter, to beſpeak a whole length of one, and a half length of another; I talked of nothing but attitudes, draperies, and proper lights; took my friends to ſee the pictures after every ſitting; heard every day of a wonderful performer in crayons and miniature, and ſent my pictures to be copied; was told by the judges that they were not like, and was recommended to other artiſts. At length, being not able to pleaſe my friends I grew leſs pleaſed myſelf, and at laſt reſolved to think no more about it.

It was impoſſible to live in total idleneſs; and wandering about in ſearch of ſomething to do, I was invited to a weekly meeting of Virtuoſos, and felt myſelf inſtantaneouſly ſeized with an unextinguiſhable ardour for all natural curioſities. I ran from auction to auction, became a Critic in ſhells and foſſils, bought a *hortus ſiccus* of ineſtimable value, and purchaſed a ſecret art

of

of preſerving inſects, which made my collection the envy of the other Philoſophers. I found this pleaſure mingled with much vexation. All the faults of my life were for nine months circulated thro' the town with the moſt active malignity, becauſe I happened to catch a moth of peculiar variegation; and becauſe I once outbid all the lovers of ſhells, and carried off a Nautilus, it was hinted that the validity of my uncle's will ought to be diſputed. I will not deny that I was very proud both of the moth and of the ſhell, and gratified myſelf with the envy of my companions, perhaps more than became a benevolent being. But in time I grew weary of being hated for that which produced no advantage, gave my ſhells to children that wanted play-things, and ſuppreſſed the art of drying butterflies, becauſe I would not tempt Idleneſs and Cruelty to kill them.

I now began to feel life tedious, and wiſhed to ſtore myſelf with friends, with whom I might grow old in the interchange of benevolence. I had obſerved that popularity was moſt eaſily gained by an open table, and therefore hired a French cook, furniſhed my ſideboard with great magnificence, filled my cellar with wines of pompous appellations, bought every thing that was dear before it was good, and invited all thoſe who were moſt famous for judging of a dinner. In three weeks my cook gave me warning, and, upon enquiry, told me that Lord Queaſy, who dined with me the day before, had ſent him an offer of double wages. My pride prevailed, I raiſed his wages, and invited his Lordſhip to another feaſt. I love plain meat, and was therefore ſoon weary of ſpreading a table

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of which I could not partake. I found that my gueſts, when they went away, criticiſed their entertainment, and cenſured my profuſion; my cook thought himſelf neceſſary, and took upon him the direction of the houſe; and I could not rid myſelf of flatterers, or break from ſlavery, but by ſhutting up my houſe, and declaring my reſolution to live in lodgings.

After all this, tell me, dear Idler, what I muſt do next; I have health, I have money, and hope that I have underſtanding; yet, with all theſe, I have never yet been able to paſs a ſingle day which I did not wiſh to an end before ſun-ſet. Tell me, dear Idler, what I ſhall do. I am

Your humble Servant,

TIM. RANGER.

Johnſon's Idler.

CHAP. VI.

RIDDLES.

Their defence: In a Letter to a Lady.

IT is with wonderful ſatisfaction I find you are grown ſuch an adept in the occult arts, and that you take a laudable pleaſure in the antient and ingenious ſtudy of making and ſolving riddles. It is a ſcience, undoubtedly, of moſt neceſſary acquirement, and deſerves to make a part in the meditation of both ſexes. Thoſe of yours may by this means very innocently indulge their uſual curioſity

curioſity of diſcovering and diſcloſing a ſecret; whilſt ſuch amongſt ours who have a turn for deep ſpeculations, and are fond of puzzling themſelves and others, may exerciſe their faculties this way with much private ſatisfaction, and without the leaſt diſturbance to the publick. It is an art indeed which I would recommend to the encouragement of both the univerſities, as it affords the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt method of conveying ſome of the moſt uſeful principles of logic, and might therefore be introduced as a very proper ſubſtitute in the room of thoſe dry ſyſtems which are at preſent in vogue in thoſe places of education. For as it conſiſts in diſcovering truth under borrowed appearances, it might prove of wonderful advantage in every branch of learning, by habituating the mind to ſeparate all foreign ideas, and conſequently preſerving it from that grand ſource of error, the being deceived by falſe connections. In ſhort, Timoclea, this your favourite ſcience contains the ſum of all human policy; and as there is no paſſing through the world without ſometimes mixing with fools and knaves; who would not chooſe to be maſter of the enigmatical art, in order, on proper occaſions, to be able to lead aſide craft and impertinence from their aim, by the convenient artifice of a prudent diſguiſe? It was the maxim of a very wiſe prince, that "he who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to reign:" and I deſire you would receive it as mine, that "he who knows not how to riddle, knows not how to live."

But beſides the general uſefulneſs of this art, it will have a further recommendation to all true admirers of antiquity, as being practiſed by the

the moſt conſiderable perſonages of early times. It is almoſt three thouſand years ago ſince Samſon propoſed his famous riddle ſo well known; tho' the advocates for ancient learning muſt forgive me, if in this article I attribute the ſuperiority to the moderns: for if we may judge of the ſkill of the former in this profound art by that remarkable ſpecimen of it, the geniuſes of thoſe early ages were by no means equal to thoſe which our times have produced. But as a friend of mine has lately finiſhed, and intends very ſhortly to publiſh a moſt learned work in folio, wherein he has fully proved that important point, I will not anticipate the pleaſure you will receive by peruſing this curious performance. In the mean while let it be remembered to the immortal glory of this art, that the wiſeſt man, as well as the greateſt prince that ever lived, is ſaid to have amuſed himſelf and a neighbouring monarch in trying the ſtrength of each other's talents in this way; ſeveral riddles, it ſeems, having paſſed between Solomon and Hiram, upon condition that he who failed in the ſolution ſhould incur a certain penalty. It is recorded likewiſe of the great father of poetry, even the divine Homer himſelf, that he had a taſte of this ſort; and we are told by a Greek writer of his life, that he died with vexation for not being able to diſcover a riddle which was propoſed to him by ſome fiſhermen at a certain iſland called Io. *Fitzoſborne's Letters.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

RIDICULE.

Dangerous to morality and religion.

THE unbounded freedom and licentiouſneſs of raillery and ridicule is become of late years ſo faſhionable among us, and hath already been attended with ſuch fatal and deſtructive conſequences, as to give a reaſonable alarm to all friends of virtue. Writers have roſe up within this laſt century, who have endeavoured to blend and confound the colours of good and evil, to laugh us out of our religion, and undermine the very foundations of morality. The character of the Scoffer hath by an unaccountable favour and indulgence met not only with pardon, but approbation, and hath therefore been almoſt univerſally ſought after and admired. Ridicule hath been called (and this for no other reaſon but becauſe Lord Shafteſbury told us ſo) the teſt of truth, and, as ſuch, has been applied indiſcriminately to every ſubject.

But in oppoſition to all the puny followers of Shafteſbury and Bolingbroke, all the laughing moraliſts of the laſt age, and of all the ſneering ſatyriſts of this, I ſhall not ſcruple to declare,

clare, that I look on ridicule as an oppreſſive and arbitrary tyrant, who like Death throws down all diſtinction; blind to the charms of virtue, and deaf to the complaints of truth; a bloody Moloch, who delights in human ſacrifice, who loves to feed on the fleſh of the poor, and to drink the tear of the afflicted; who doubles the weight of poverty by ſcorn and laughter, and throws the poiſon of contempt into the cup of diſtreſs to embitter the draught.

Truth, ſay the Shafteſburians, cannot poſſibly be an object of ridicule, and therefore cannot ſuffer by it: to which the anſwer is extremely obvious: Truth naked, undiſguiſed, cannot, we will acknowledge with them, be ridiculed: but Truth, like every thing elſe, may be miſrepreſented: it is the buſineſs of ridicule therefore to diſguiſe her; to dreſs her up in a ſtrange and fantaſtic habit; and when this is artfully performed, it is no wonder that the croud ſhould ſmile at her deformity.

The nobleſt philoſopher and the beſt moraliſt in the heathen world, the great and immortal Socrates, fell a ſacrifice to this pernicious talent: ridicule firſt miſrepreſented, and afterwards deſtroyed him: the deluded multitude condemned him, not for what he was, but for what he appeared to be, an enemy to the religion of his country.

The folly and depravity of mankind will always furniſh out a ſufficient fund for ridicule; and when we conſider how vaſt and ſpacious a field the little ſcene of human life affords for malice and ill nature, we ſhall not ſo much wonder to ſee the lover of ridicule rejoicing in it.

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Here he has always an opportunity of gratifying his pride, and ſatiating his malevolence: from the frailties and abſurdities of others, he forms a wreath to adorn his own brow; gathers together with all his art the failings and imperfections of others, and offers them up a ſacrifice to ſelf-love. The loweſt and moſt abandoned of mankind can ridicule the moſt exalted beings; thoſe who never could boaſt of their own perfection,

Nor raiſe their thoughts beyond the earth they tread,
Even theſe can cenſure, thoſe can dare deride
A Bacon's avarice, or a Tully's pride.

It were well indeed for mankind, if ridicule would confine itſelf to the frailties and imperfections of human nature, and not extend its baleful influence over the few good qualities and perfections of it: but there is not perhaps a virtue to be named, which may not by the medium through which it is ſeen, be diſtorted into a vice. The glaſs of ridicule reflects things not only darkly, but falſely alſo: it always diſcolours the objects before it ventures to repreſent them to us. The pureſt metal, by the mixture of a baſe alloy, ſhall ſeem changed to the meaneſt. Ridicule in the ſame manner will cloath prudence in the garb of avarice, call courage raſhneſs, and brand good nature with the name of prodigality; will laugh at the compaſſionate man for his weakneſs, the ſerious man for his preciſeneſs, and the pious man for his hypocriſy.

Modeſty is one of Virtue's beſt ſupports; and it is obſervable, that wherever this amiable quality is moſt eminently conſpicuous, ridicule

is always ready to attack and overthrow it. The man of wit and humour is never ſo happy as when he can raiſe the bluſh of ingenuous merit, or ſtamp the marks of deformity and guilt on the features of innocence and beauty. Thus may our perfections conſpire to render us both unhappy and contemptible.

The lover of ridicule will, no doubt, plead in the defence of it, that his deſign is to reclaim and reform mankind; that he is liſted in the ſervice of Virtue, and engaged in the cauſe of Truth; but I will venture to aſſure him, that the allies he boaſts of diſclaim his friendſhip, and deſpiſe his aſſiſtance. Truth deſires no ſuch ſoldier to fight under his banner; Virtue wants no ſuch advocate to plead for her. As it is generally exerciſed, it is too great a puniſhment for ſmall faults, too light and inconſiderable for great ones: the little foibles and blemiſhes of a character deſerve rather pity than contempt; the more atrocious crimes call for hatred and abhorrence. Thus we ſee, that in one caſe the medicine operates too powerfully, and in the other is of no effect.

I might take this opportunity to add, that ridicule is not always contented with ravaging and deſtroying the works of man, but boldly and impiouſly attacks thoſe of God; enters even into the ſanctuary, and prophanes the temple of the Moſt High. A late noble writer has made uſe of it to aſperſe the characters and deſtroy the validity of the writers of both the Old and New Teſtament; and to change the ſolemn truths of Chriſtianity into matter of mirth and laughter. The books of Moſes are called by him fables and tales, fit only for the amuſement of children:

and

and St. Paul is treated by him as an enthuſiaſt, an ideot, and an avowed enemy to that religion which he profeſſed. One would not ſurely think that there was any thing in Chriſtianity ſo ludicrous as to raiſe laughter, or to excite contempt; but on the contrary, that the nature of its precepts, and its own intrinſic excellence would, at leaſt, have ſecured it from ſuch indignities.

Nothing gives us a higher opinion of thoſe ancient heathens whom our modern bigots are ſo apt to deſpiſe, than that air of piety and devotion which runs through all their writings; and though the Pagan theology was full of abſurdities and inconſiſtencies, which the more refined ſpirits among their poets and philoſophers muſt have doubtleſs deſpiſed, rejected, and contemned, ſuch was their reſpect and veneration for the eſtabliſhed religion of their country, ſuch their regard to decency and ſerioufneſs, ſuch their modeſty and diffidence in affairs of ſo much weight and importance, that we very ſeldom meet with jeſt or ridicule on ſubjects which they held thus ſacred and reſpectable.

The privilege of publickly laughing at religion, and the profeſſion of it, of making the laws of God, and the great concerns of eternity, the objects of mirth and ridicule, was reſerved for more enlightened ages; and denied the more pious heathens, to reflect diſgrace and ignominy on the Chriſtian æra.

It hath indeed been the fate of the beſt and pureſt religion in the world to become the jeſt of fools; and not only, with its Divine Founder, to be ſcourged and perſecuted, but with him to be mocked and ſpit at, trampled on and deſpiſed. But to conſider the dreadful conſequences of ridicule

dicule on this occaſion, will better become the divine than eſſayiſt; to him therefore I ſhall refer it, and conclude this eſſay by obſerving, that after all the undeſerved encomiums ſo laviſhly beſtowed on this child of Wit and Malice, ſo univerſally approved and admired, I know of no ſervice the pernicious talent of ridicule can be of, unleſs it be to raiſe the bluſh of modeſty, and put virtue out of countenance; to enhance the miſeries of the wretched, and poiſon the feaſt of happineſs; to inſult man, affront God; to make us, in ſhort, hateful to our fellow-creatures, uneaſy to ourſelves, and highly diſpleaſing to the Almighty. *Smollett.*

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.